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ERRATA.

- Page 29, line 6, *for* Ormazd, *read* Ormuzd.
 — 29, — 8, — Palascins, *read* Talapoins.
 — 30, — 43, — Hesiod, *read* Herodotus.
 — 31, — 15, — Parana, *read* Purana.
 — 34, — 26, — collateral, *read* irrelevant.
 — 38, — 17, — it forus, *read* if from.
 — 38, — 21, — Werneric, *read* Wern-rian.
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 — 42, — 16, — Lazaro, Moro, *dele* the comma.
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THE
BRITISH REVIEW,



• AND

LONDON CRITICAL JOURNAL.

NOVEMBER, 1815.

ART. XII.—*The Church in Danger: a Statement of the Cause, and of the probable Means of averting that Danger, attempted in a Letter to the Right Honourable Lord Liverpool.* By the Rev. Richard Yates, B. D. and F. R. S. Chaplain to his Majesty's Royal College, Chelsea, Rector of Ashen, and alternate Preacher to the Philanthropic Society. London. 1815. Rivington, Hatchard, &c.

A Practical Exposition of the Tendency and Proceedings of the British and Foreign Bible Society, begun in a Correspondence between the Rev. H. H. Norris and J. W. Freshfield, Esq. relative to the Formation of an Auxiliary Bible Society at Hackney; and completed in an Appendix, containing an entire Series of the public Documents and private Papers which that Measure occasioned; illustrated with Notes and Observations. Edited by the Rev. H. H. Norris, M. A. Curate of St. John's Chapel, Hackney, and Chaplain to the Earl of Shaftesbury. Second Edition, with additional Notes. London. 1814. Rivington.

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A Letter to the Right Reverend the Lord Bishop of Lincoln, on the Subject of the Attack made by his Lordship upon the British and Foreign Bible Society, in his recent Charge to his Clergy. By a clerical Member of the Society. London. 1815. pp. 62. Baldwin and Co.

A Letter to the Right Reverend Lord Bishop of Gloucester, on the Subject of the British and Foreign Bible Society. By Thomas Gisborne, M. A. London. 1815. pp. 36. Cadell and Davies.

THE various views which the several publications above enumerated present of the supposed difficulties with which the Church of England has at this time to struggle, suggest to most of its members matter of very serious consideration, and to some a subject of unquiet reflection. When the extent of our obligations to that system of ecclesiastical discipline, doctrine, and instruction, which has been maintained since the Reformation in this country, are duly appreciated by those who are professedly within its pale, they cannot hear the recital of its numerous, and, as some say, increasing perils, without grief and alarm. That the Church should be surrounded with danger is agreeable to the course of Providence in the dispensation of his best gifts to man, who is never suffered to possess them in security, but as a property which he must live in constant watchfulness to protect,—as a tenure for which his ceaseless service is due to the paramount Proprietor of all things.

Nothing is so conducive to safety as a distinct apprehension of the danger. Floating and indeterminate fears serve only to distract the mind and dissipate exertion. To be calculating the probabilities of attack, to be counting the number of the besiegers, to reckon upon support from without, and to trust to the artificial strength of bulwarks, while disorder, disunion, and neglect of discipline, prevail within, has been the cause of ruin to many a fenced city, and may place our Zion at the mercy of its enemies, if we are not urged by the near approach of destruction to have recourse in time to the only substantial means of defence.

It is a question, for the solution of which we have but little appetite, whether a religious establishment, reposing on its ancient foundations, and trusting to authority, prescription, and opulence, can maintain itself against a numerical majority in the nation, who, though divided among themselves, are actuated by a common principle of opposition. If this numerical majority should become a moral majority, comprising the greater part of the middle class of the community, the fate of the ecclesiastical establishment can scarcely remain in ambiguity. That institution must rest, indeed, upon a strong foundation, which in this country can see with unconcern the progress and fluctuation of opinion;—of that agent which is always in restless activity, shaking, subverting, undermining, strengthening, establishing, creating, and again destroying; sometimes to be dreaded, sometimes to be revered,

always to be watched and regulated; sometimes with sudden violence and unforeseen aggression, assaulting the securest stations, and surprising the world with its short and subversive fury; sometimes rising in appearance like a cloud of the bigness only of a man's hand, and by degrees enlarging itself into a mighty magazine of storms, till the face of heaven is no more seen, and all things are overwhelmed with its resistless accumulations.

The moral supremacy of opinion in this country puts all its institutions, religious and political, upon their good behaviour; and their safety and durability depend upon their clear recognition of this truth, and the practical result of the conviction. To threaten, denounce, abuse, deplore, or complain of the enemy, will never thin his ranks, or change his disposition; and still more impotent and unavailing to every good purpose will every expedient be found, that forgets what is due to candour, liberality, and justice, in the representation of facts and the imputation of motives. In the case of an individual member of a well-ordered society, to live so as not to deserve reproach is the best confutation of malice, and the Church of England must thus act to secure itself amidst the difficulties and hostilities by which it finds itself surrounded.

It would be really ludicrous, and almost amusing, if every thing that touches the interests of religion were not too solemn and affecting for such impressions, to see the Parish Priest start from his couch at the sound of a Bible Association in his neighbourhood, and begin to fret and fume at the invasion of his territory; to hear Bishops and Archdeacons at their charges and visitations, instead of ascertaining and correcting the practical state of the ministry in the diocese; instead of supplying the defects, reproving the negligence, and animating the zeal of their own clergy; instead of inquiring into the means afforded to the poor of attending with convenience the service of God, and the opportunities afforded them of receiving spiritual instruction, first complimenting their auditors into a satisfied state of feeling in regard to their own orthodoxy and correct discharge of their duty, and then exhorting them to be on their guard against the restless and intrusive activity of those who venture to sound the alarm to sleeping consciences within their peaceful limits, or to stimulate the appetite for the bread of life beyond what it may suit their convenience to satisfy.

It would indeed be amusing, if it were not, as before observed, for its bearing upon things of such tremendous concern, to remark the anxiety with which men of good meaning, and much attached to our church establishment, regard every fancied encroachment upon its ministry, without at all adverting to the de-

fects and decays of its interior condition. These worthy persons to whom we allude, appear to us to be vainly disquieted with visionary fears, while the real peril is strangely disregarded. Mistaking the signs of the times, they see danger only in the quarters of fanaticism, zeal, and schism, while all seems safe in the department of indolent orthodoxy and official supineness. In their alarms at innovation, they forget the only means by which, in an age in which prescription has lost too much of its authority, innovation is to be resisted and controuled: they forget, that in an age in which education is cheapened down to the very dregs of the people, and all are taught, encouraged, and stimulated to think and reason, (whether the system be right or wrong in the extent to which it is carried, or in the mode in which it may be here or there conducted, we do not now inquire), habit must necessarily have lost much of its influence; that the Church cannot now hold together, more than other things, by that noble cement by which its original structure was consolidated: that the beauty of its internal frame, its high derivative claims, its pure form of doctrine, and the close relation in which it stands to our liberties, our laws, and constitution, are general truths (and truths the most important they undoubtedly are) which will not at a period of such universal inquiry, particularly directed towards official conduct, stop the mouths of gainsayers, and of that immense majority to whose perceptions the merit of every institution is embodied in its official agents, and by whom things are appreciated according to the use which is made of them.

These respectable champions of the Church will not sufficiently disengage themselves from prejudice, to understand that the Church must keep pace with the general progression of mind, or inevitably decline in its credit. To oppose inquiry is now impracticable, if it were justifiable; and we see no reason why the Church, instead of an opposition that can only create a suspicion which it ill deserves, may not move foremost in the march of opinion; why it may not safely challenge the utmost scrutiny of this inquisitive era; and why, if nothing is now to be taken upon the credit of mere human authority, so long as the authority of Scripture is decisive, she may not safely forego her prescriptive title to veneration, and that which has been sealed to her by the martyrdom of her saints, and stand alone "without fear or reproach" upon that Scriptural ground, on which truth has planted her immoveable standard.

Entertaining these general views of the state and interests of the Established Church, and entertaining a very respectful opinion of the Rev. Mr. Norris, the author or editor of the work which stands second in our list at the head of this article, we cannot help being greatly surprised at the sentiments and reasonings con-

tained in this production. Nor can we understand what he means by a "*Practical Exposition of the Tendency and Proceedings of the British and Foreign Bible Society,*" in his application of that title to a work which scarcely attempts to exhibit one particle of actual mischief which has yet resulted from that portentous Institution. But we will venture to tell Mr. Norris, we proclaim it also with great reverence to the Bishops and Pastors of our truly Christian Church, and we venture with great respect to suggest to our legislators, that there is one way in which the Church of England may be brought into the greatest danger by the British and Foreign Bible Society and its appendages. And thus we deduce the proposition :

Until the catholic dispersion of the Bible by this Society, an immense portion of the people of this land were in a neutral state as to religion. They knew nothing, they *cared* nothing about creeds or communions; the Sunday was known only to them as a day of vacation from labour, and the Church and the conventicle were held by them in equal contempt. Can we suppose that the universal diffusion of the Scriptures among the poor, among whom there is now scarcely a family without one at least of its number capable of reading them, has produced no change in this respect, has provoked no curiosity, has excited no inclination to worship the Creator? Very great unquestionably has been the change wrought in the disposition of the poor on these subjects: they cannot read the Scriptures and retain this unholy indifference; they cannot peruse the word of life without feeling some desire to hear it expounded; they cannot read what God has done for his creatures and continue to pass the house of prayer without some misgivings of conscience, without some disposition to draw nearer to the Author of their being, and Disposer of their immortal souls. In short the Bible has raised, and must continue to raise, a great proportion of these neutral beings into a state of positive religion. In that woeful state of *nothingness*, that brutal apathy of soul in which the Bible first found them, had they been asked to what church they belonged, if they had understood the question, they would have answered, to the Church of England; because there probably they were christened, or married, and within its precincts they expected to be buried; and for the same reasons perhaps they have been counted by the Church, by a sort of promiscuous reckoning, among the number of its people; a straggling portion of its flock to be sure, but still bearing about them some badge of ownership, something to denote them to be not entirely *feræ naturæ*, unreclaimed and unregarded,

"And of whose doings God takes no account."

But the Bible has overtaken these miserable fugitives, it has crossed their paths, it has told them what they are, and whose they are: with music of sublimer efficacy than ever sounded from the lyre of Orpheus, it has brought them back to the Shepherd of their souls. In plain language, it has disposed them and prepared them to become the members of some congregation or assembly of worshippers. But whither are they to resort? The Bishops and Clergy say, surely to the Church—to that Church so simple in its worship, so pure in its creed, so pastoral in its care; whose liturgy breathes the very spirit of holiness, whose discipline is composed of the soundest ordinances, whose doctrines are those of peace and salvation;—to that Church which stretches towards them its maternal arms, and which gives to its faithful children the blessings of a religious education. To these endearing solicitations the most favourable answer can be no more than this: We are disposed to come to our National Church, but it has not room for the hundredth part of us. Some of us are too old, and some are too young to travel far; our Parish Church we cannot reach, and if we could, we might not find a seat. The chapels are occupied by those who can afford to pay for the privilege of worshipping their God in public. Such must be their answer. In the mean time the door of the conventicle stands widely open before them. The access is easy, and undisturbed to every religious assembly of whatever creed, except to the Churches of the Establishment. To the affecting invitations and remonstrances of the Church, the chapels of the dissenters oppose the practical argument of warmth, room, welcome, and quiet. The choice of the multitude cannot long fluctuate between these opposing arguments; practicability must decide the preference in favour of the dissenters; and in proportion as the Bible Societies, and the new systems of education (and it matters not in this view by whom the Bible is given, or by whom education is promoted) elevate the feelings of the people towards spiritual objects, the scale of numerical importance must incline on the side of religious dissent. If by any means the sense of the necessity of prayer increases, and the floor of national worship preserves its contracted boundary, no penetration is necessary to foresee the consequence to the Church of England.

But is this consideration to check the diffusion of scriptural knowledge, and starve the cause of Christianity through the world? Is the catholic career of the Gospel to wait until the Church of England expands itself to the growing wants of the spiritual world? If it ought it certainly will not. Again we say the Church is lost, for ever lost, unless, instead of opposing, it lends itself to the present state of things; unless, while bustle and activity prevail in every department of knowledge, intellectual and

spiritual, it enlarges its dimensions, and opens its stores to meet the exigencies, and to profit by the genius of the crisis.

At a moment when all should be stirring and busy and animated in the great emporium of our faith, into and from whose ports the spiritual commerce of the world is pouring continual accessions, and demanding continual returns, it is unlucky to be obliged to confess a want of warehouse-room, or a scarcity of effective hands; and disgraceful to complain of the general activity as calling upon ourselves for increased exertions.

In this view of the state of the religious world, and of the operations of the Bible Societies, is necessarily comprehended the imperious duty which now presses upon the legislature, of succouring the Church Establishment—a duty which has been so well illustrated and powerfully enforced by the treatise which stands first at the head of our present article, that it will by and by give us much satisfaction to introduce our readers to an acquaintance with it. At present we must bestow a little more consideration upon the production of Mr. Norris. His objection to the British and Foreign Bible Society, and its auxiliaries, involves three arguments. One of a negative, and two of a positive kind.

He tells the Bible Society that the world has no occasion for its interference, because the Society for promoting Christian Knowledge, already long established, and long in vigorous operation, and withal a society framed in unison and correspondence with our Established Church, was all-sufficient for the purpose for which the Bible Society has been instituted. And he tells the nation at large, that the universal and unrestrained dispersion of the Scriptures is detrimental to the cause of sound religion, and injurious to the ministry of the Established Church. Of which two arguments one must be taken exclusively of the other. They cannot both be relied on; for if the universal diffusion of the simple authorized version of the Scriptures be objectionable, the objection is as applicable to the Society for promoting Christian Knowledge as to the Bible Society. In this respect the two Societies agree in their principle. If this argument therefore is to prevail, there is an end of the question of preference. The other objection is to the frame and organization of the Bible Society, as affording, by its admission of dissenters of all descriptions, the means and opportunities of a dangerous combination against the safety of the Church of England.

The first and the third of these objections are perfectly consistent with each other and tend the same way. The one urges a defect of plan, the other a defect of constitution. One advantage which the Bible Society has in the very position of the argument

is this, that the foundation on which it supports itself involves no accusation of any other Society. It confesses itself by its constitution unqualified for undertaking the whole plan of the Christian Knowledge Society; but for the furtherance of one part of its plan viz. the universal diffusion of the word of God, it tenders a most powerful co-operation. And it manifests very superior advantages for the prosecution and accomplishment of the object common to both Societies, arising out of that very peculiarity of its constitution which is charged upon it as a defect. In the language of the Bishop of St. David's, "it promotes Christian Knowledge by distributing the pure Word of God to an infinitely greater extent, both at home and abroad, than could have been done by any Society not acting upon the single principle of distributing the Bible."

The objection to the quantity and universality of the distribution, is nothing more than an objection to the higher degree of vigour and success with which the Bible Society carries on the very same object which the elder Society prosecutes to the full extent of its means, in the prosecution of which it prescribes to itself no specific boundary, and towards the prosecution of which it invites subscriptions to an indefinite extent. Thus it is another great advantage which the Bible Society possesses in the very constitution of the controversy, that by one simple argument it is able to meet the various forms of objection by which it is assailed, and to found its defence upon the principles and admissions of its adversaries. Every institution must have a limited purpose, and what is left undone cannot be a fair question respecting its specific merit; the proper questions are—whether it leaves others unimpeded in doing the good which it omits; whether that which it undertakes to do is good; whether it is formed for attaining it, and for attaining it by legitimate methods. The only question, however, which Mr. Norris has with any distinctness discussed, has been that which a fair controversialist would have left alone. The only point which he has proved, has been that which has never been disputed—the fact of the Society's omissions. In these very omissions consist the beauty and the perfection of the Society. Nothing but the naked purpose of distributing the Bible without note or comment, could have united such a diversified body of professing Christians; nothing but a body so numerous, because so variegated, could have carried the object to such a splendid consummation.

With respect to the far greater part of Mr. Norris's argument, we must frankly declare, that among all the specimens of controversial reasoning which in the course of our critical labours have

come under our view, scarcely one occurs to our recollection so defective in every property of fair argument and logical arrangement. In his blind eagerness to bring every argument which has ever been used or abused in the various attacks which have been made upon the Society, he has failed to observe their ludicrous inconsistency. The sum of the absurd self-contradictions which in general characterize the attacks upon the Society, and most of which are characteristic of Mr. Norris's book, has been stated with very humorous effect in a page of Mr. Dealtry's Review, to which we have given a third place in the list of productions at the head of this article.

" It does *not* circulate the Bible: it disseminates tracts.

" When this was no longer tenable, the enemy turned round, and proscribed the Society, because,

" 2. It *does* circulate the Bible, and disseminates *no* tracts.—The fact of distributing the Scriptures was converted into a ground of accusation!

" 3. It is a *Dissenting* Society!

" 4. It is *not* a Dissenting Society! Happy would it be for the Church of England if such were the case! We should no longer be exposed to the hazard of baneful communications!

" 5. It disseminates the Scriptures with comments!

" 6. It dares to send Bibles into the world *without* comments! to the marvellous increase of heresy, and the manifold danger of Religion and the Church!

" 7. It contains within itself the seeds of dissolution: it is a bubble that must presently burst!

" 8. It is a powerful confederation, and will subvert the establishments both of church and state!

" 9. Its machinations are *secret*!

" 10. It is the most *noisy* and *clamorous* creature upon the face of the earth!

" 11. It introduces every where a false and spurious *charity*!

" 12. Wherever it goes it excites nothing but quarrels and debate!

" 13. It is a *new* institution: history tells of nothing that is like it!

" 14. It is an *old* institution, established by Pharisees and revived by Puritans!" (P. xix, xx.)

We suspect that Mr. Norris must have been put to some difficulty to find for the multifarious mass of hostile matter which he has pressed into his service, a title sufficiently appropriate and commensurate. His title-page is an elaborate performance, and presents, after all, a very unintelligible prospectus of a most prelix and confused compilation. So far, and only so far, there is consistency and correspondency in the ponderous fabric. The portico well represents the body of the edifice. It is impossible

to understand how the "practical exposition," or "the tendency and proceedings of the Bible Society," can have "begun in a correspondence between the Editor and Mr. Freshfield," or what a *practical* exposition of *proceedings* can properly imply. We only know that in fact nothing practical is demonstrated, or fairly deduced, throughout the volume, involving any justifiable ground of complaint against the Society in question.

Mr. Norris illustrates the evil of 'notes and comments' of which he is so great an advocate, in his use of them as an accompaniment to the correspondence between himself and Mr. Freshfield. The correspondence ought to have been left to speak for itself, and we cannot esteem it a fair and liberal way of dealing with a correspondent, to publish the letters on each side, with a commentary upon the language and reasoning of our antagonist, which he has no opportunity of answering, and which is calculated to warp the opinion of the public. They have not, however, had that effect upon our's, since it appears to us that the erroneous reasoning which distinguishes the whole of Mr. Norris's epistolary argumentation, is still more observable in his notes, where he writes no longer under the awe of Mr. Freshfield's judicious *surveillance*.

There is one assumption, or *petitio principii*, running through the whole of Mr. Norris's argument, if argument it is to be called, against the Bible Society, which is this—that it usurps the office of *teaching*, and thus interferes with the authorized ministry of the Church; and yet the fundamental complaint against the same Society, in the mouth of all its adversaries, and of Mr. Norris himself, is its abstinence from note or comment. Upon this subject he thus expresses himself:

"I am very anxious here to guard against a misconception of my meaning, which might lead you to suppose, that I am jealous of the co-operation of the laity with us in our spiritual labours, and that I count their interference in it an intrusion: and this anxiety is awakened by your representing 'the presentation of a Bible, or any other book of instruction, to a poor neighbour,' as a parallel to that proceeding of your's which I have felt it to be my duty to reprehend; and by your citation of 1 Tim. vi. 18, where the genuine exercise of Christian benevolence is so explicitly and comprehensively commanded, as your full justification. Now, so far from discouraging this valuable co-operation, I beg to assure you, that, I am most tenderly alive to its incalculable importance; and my friends amongst the laity will, I am sure, bear me witness, that I am not deficient in my importunity with them to provoke them to yield it to me on all occasions. But it is one thing to aid our labours, and another to supersede their operation. It is one thing to act, in due Christian subordination, in giving effect

to our ministry; and another, by the substitution of your own services to the disparagement of our's, to make it appear useless, nay obstructive to the propagation of the Gospel. The former of these methods of dealing with us we solicit with all the ardency of desire: the latter we are bound to discountenance, or we shall betray our Master's cause, and incur his heaviest indignation. For 'the dispensation of the Gospel is committed to us,' (1 Cor. ix. 17.); and our Divine Master's engagement to us is, 'Lo! I am with you always, even to the end of the world,' (Matt. xxviii. 20.): his charge, 'Occupy till I come,' (Luke xi. 13.): I appoint you my 'ambassadors,' (2 Cor. v. 20); I appoint you the 'stewards of my household,' (Luke xii. 42.); 'the overseers of my flock,' (Acts xx. 28.); 'I place you as watchmen' (Ezek. xxxiii. 7. Heb. xiii. 17.) over my people, and you are 'to give account to me' of all the souls thus committed to your care. We cannot therefore, however powerfully moved to it by the love of peace, and by those importunate cravings of human infirmity to be disentangled from anxiety—we cannot make any compromise, which shall even imply an acquiescence in the devolving upon unconsecrated persons its fearful responsibility, however inconsiderately precipitate they may be to take it upon themselves: for woe will it be to us if we do not raise our warning voice against all invasion of our sacred charge; if we do not deliver, and continue stedfast in delivering, without mutilation, this apostolical summary of our Divine Master's message to the world; this compendium of the doctrine and discipline of Christianity, 'that God was in Christ reconciling the world unto himself, not imputing their trespasses unto them, and hath committed unto us the word of reconciliation.' (2 Cor. v. 19.)—(P. 55—57.)

If the distribution of the Bible alone in the unrestrained manner in which this is done by the British and Foreign Bible Society, and its auxiliaries, could operate injuriously to the ministry of the Established Church, without any forgetfulness of the care of the Church being imputable to the legislature, or any neglect to afford instruction equal to the growing state of spiritual inquiry being imputable to the clergy, we should be tempted to suspect some serious defect in the ecclesiastical part of our constitution: on the other hand, if we could perceive any collateral or insidious tendencies in the frame and constitution, or in the proceedings of these Bible Societies, of a nature to menace our Church Establishment, we should be disposed to join heart and hand with Mr. Norris, and other opponents, in their endeavours to discredit them in the eyes of the public. But as long as "the Bible, and nothing but the Bible, is the religion of the Church of England;" and as long as the Bible, and nothing but the Bible, is the thing which Churchmen and Dissenters have thus formed themselves into one body to uphold and disseminate, it.

seems to us to involve the most desperate of paradoxes to affirm, that the plan or operations of the Bible Societies can interfere with, or supersede, or obstruct, the wholesome ministry of the constitutional Church of this realm.

The objects, or rather the object, of the Bible Society is so specific, its purpose so simply *one*, that as long as it consists both of Churchmen and Dissenters, it is impossible it can be made instrumental to any indirect and sinister designs, or serve as a cover to any stratagems against the Church. But if churchmen could be induced to withdraw from the Society (and this is all that Mr. Norris can have in view: it is scarcely possible for a man of sense to think of arguing the Society itself out of existence), there might, indeed, be some reason in these apprehensions for the Church of England. Has Mr. Norris revolved this consequence seriously in his mind? Has he reflected upon the power that a Society like this, even in its defalcated state, would retain, and by whom that power would then be directed?

Mr. Norris's argument against co-operation with the Dissenters would be equally strong against an association with them for any purpose whatsoever, unless he means to say to them, we will not concur with you in the distribution of the same Scriptures, because you do not understand them in some particulars in the same way that we do. Men might as well refuse to join together in bringing the blessing of water into a city, because they do not agree as to its component parts.

It might be expected, that at the general meetings of a society so composed, sentiments and expressions would occasionally fall from some of the speakers not quite agreeable to the dictates of a wise discretion; but what would become of the character of the House of Commons, or of any other assembly, if the injudicious sallies of a few of its speakers were to determine the character of the whole? and yet Mr. Norris, upon no better or broader foundation, erects one of his principal batteries against the Bible Society.

Nothing but the irritation of Mr. Norris's mind upon this subject can excuse his rash and ridiculous assertions in respect to this Institution. Having discovered that an Unitarian or Socinian had sometimes taken a part in its transactions, he scruples not, upon a most injurious assumption that the opinions of such persons have received countenance from it, to introduce a display of their activity and ardour in the propagation of their errors, as an argument against the Society.

In the same spirit, Mr. Norris brings every thing home to the Bible Society which has been said at the meetings of Dissenters,

because Dissenters make a part of this devoted body; and having hazarded an unfounded assertion, that a Bible Society existed in the reign of Charles the First composed of Puritans, he shows that at any rate there *might* have been a Bible Society in those days, since the Puritans were so like, in all their proceedings, to the promoters of the Bible Societies. Having found this likeness for the Bible Societies in the associations and plans of the Puritans, he reminds us how dangerous and mischievous they were, and consequently how dangerous and mischievous must be the Bible Societies. Counterparts are also found for them in the United Irishmen, and the Illuminati of Germany, and the Revolutionists of France. It is, not obscurely, insinuated, that the great increase of vice which Mr. Norris has discovered to be characteristic of the times, is partly chargeable on the Bible Society; and the dreadful murders committed at the east end of the town, some time ago, are considered by him as fit to be alluded to in demonstrating the demoralizing, and disorganizing effects of this pernicious Institution. But we must really spare all this effusion of nonsense out of charity to a good man, who in the agitation produced by apparitions of danger, the morbid progeny of his own brain, has lost the balance of his understanding, and forgotten what is due to himself and others. We shall leave him to the wise and gentle castigation of Mr. Dealtry, whose excellent pamphlet at the head of this article has seemed to us to settle the controversy concerning the Bible Society.

The pamphlets which stand the fourth and last in the list on which this article is founded, take up the cause of the Bible Society against the late Charge delivered by the Bishop of Lincoln to the Clergy of his Diocese. The writer of the first of these little tracts has withheld his name, but the reader will find in it the internal evidence of a virtuous origin. We are ignorant of the Author, and ignorant of his reasons for keeping his name concealed. We can only say, that there is nothing in his pages that good sense and delicacy may not safely avow. He has performed his task in a manner worthy of the object for which he contends.

Mr. Gisborne has given the authority of his name, and the stamp of his abilities, to the same great cause. The Letter which he has addressed to the Bishop of Gloucester, has just been put into our hands at a time to enable us to say, that if we can persuade our readers candidly to peruse it, together with the anonymous pamphlet above mentioned, and Mr. Dealtry's masterly productions on the same subject, they will want nothing but the examination of the correspondence between Mr. Freshfield and Mr. Norris, and of that latter gentleman's pon-

derous republication of defeated sophisms, to decide their opinions, if hitherto they can have fluctuated, concerning the British and Foreign Bible Society.

"When I consider," says Mr. Gisborne, "not only the Society itself, and its object, but the season also of its origin, and the rapidity and the extent of its progress; that it arose when every country in Europe felt itself fighting for life; when there was 'a time of' general 'trouble, such as never was since there was a nation even to that same time;' when, in many regions, the grasp of war had snatched away the very means of existence, and in others seemed to demand the last penny that could be spared from daily food and raiment; when licentiousness and impiety stalked triumphant on the Continent over the principles of civil order, and the belief of a life to come; when, except in this providentially favoured island, every thing social, political, moral, religious, was assaulted, undermined, convulsed, dislocated, overthrown:—while I consider that the Society has now attained an annual revenue of nearly one hundred thousand pounds; that hosts of Auxiliary Societies have sprung up around it, throughout the British islands, and throughout every part of our empire from Quebec to Calcutta; that Europe, in all her divisions, and with her princes, and her kings, and her emperors, at the head of the hallowed undertaking, is establishing similar societies, and avowedly through the example and the active and bountiful encouragement of our Parent Institution; that, through the same example and encouragement, seventy Bible Societies are numbered in the United States of North America; that versions of the Scriptures into numerous languages of our own quarter, and of each of the other quarters, of the globe, even into many languages in which the sound of the gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ had never yet been heard, have been aided or produced by the exertions of this Society; that through its medium, a very large portion of the civilized earth has linked itself to Great Britain by new and holy ties of affection and gratitude; that under the impulse of affection and gratitude, millions from among all the 'nations, and tongues, and people, and languages,' supplicate the throne of grace for blessings on this Society, and on Great Britain for its sake:—while I consider these wonders, all feelings are summed up and absorbed in one irresistible impression, *This is the finger of God.*" (P. 34, 35.)

We have before observed, that this general dispersion of the Word of God imposes the necessity for additional exertion on the ministers of our Church; and our sense of this matter can scarcely be expressed in language too strong for our feelings. But this is surely a subject of rejoicing rather than of complaint. Nor would it be consistent in Mr. Norris, or those who think with him, to complain of this great movement in the religious character of the country, since it is partly deducible from the measures of those

Societies which the Church itself has adopted, and that broad and splendid system of national education which it has taken under its patronage. A new era in Christ's Church has begun. The Word of God has received within these few years a circulation hitherto unknown and unimagined. Topics of reflection, of interest, and of discussion, commensurate with immortality, touching the extremes of human happiness and misery, involving the loss and repurchase of the soul, comprizing the sentence of wrath, the covenant of mercy, the means of grace, and the hope of glory, have found their way into channels hitherto impervious to all saving knowledge, or even the dawnings of religious curiosity. Does this interfere with or interrupt the ministry? Does it not rather lift towards the Church the cry of spiritual want, that now calls for the milk of her pure doctrine with a voice of filial distress? As the text is every where, so must the teacher be every where. It is for the Church a busy, importunate moment. To use a homely allusion, there is a run upon its bank. It must call forth all its resources to answer the pressure. It is the period for extraordinary exertion, and for those who are rich in spiritual treasure to assist the common stock out of their private funds. Let who will supply the text, it is for the Church of England to follow with the comment. Where the Lord gives the word, great ought to be the company of *her* preachers. We had once a Bishop of London who, at an age when infirmity usually asks for repose, drew an audience from among the gay and careless within his diocese to his weekly comments on a part of the holy text. He was not afraid of the dispersion of the Scriptures. He was a promoter and a member of the Bible Society. Thus then let our bishops act; thus let them stimulate their clergy to act; and, in the operations of the Bible Society, they will see no cause of jealousy or dismay. •

It is perfectly clear, that let Mr. Norris and those who participate in his alarms, stir up what opposition they please, the Bible Society will persevere in its active course. Mr. Norris cannot, he would not, recall the copies which have been distributed. It is too late for suppression. The interdicted volume has taken fast hold of the intelligent world*; it has been naturalized and domiciled in the most distant regions, and become blended with the thoughts, sentiments, and wishes of so large a part of mankind, that the mischief expected to result from this lavish circulation is already in process; nor is it in the power of man to undo what has been done. All, therefore, that

* The following sketch of the progress and general result of the operations of the British and Foreign Bible Society, has been drawn up and laid before their

remains to be done by the zealous parochial minister, who dreads the consequences of distributing the Bible in this defence-

Subscribers, by the Committee of the Northern or New Town Bible Society of Edinburgh; and may help our readers to feel the propriety of the remark in the text.

British and Foreign Bible Society, instituted in the year 1804.	Total Receipts of the Society.	Contributions in Money from Auxiliary Societies in the United Kingdom.	Number of Auxiliary Societies existing in the United Kingdom during the successive years.	Number of Bibles and Testaments issued by the Society in the British Dominions.	During the periods un-mentioned.
From 1804 to 1805	£. 5,592 10 5				
1805 — 1806	8,827 10 3	* £. 615 18 0			
1806 — 1807	6,998 19 7	267 16 0			
1807 — 1808	10,039 12 0	3 3 0 0		106,160	2½ yrs
1808 — 1809	11,289 15 3	729 13 6		50,207	9 mths
1809 — 1810	23,337 0 2	5,945 14 3	20	61,468	11 mths
1810 — 1811	25,998 3 1	6,071 3 10	37	102,618	13 mths
1811 — 1812	43,532 12 5	24,813 5 10	91	309,003	21 mths
1812 — 1813	76,455 1 0	55,099 3 10	166	301,394	12 mths
1813 — 1814	87,216 6 9	52,955 4 6	210	300,587	15 mths
1814 — 1815	99,894 15 6	61,085 1 10	238		
Total Receipts . . .	399,182 6 5				
Total sum contributed by Auxiliary Societies		207,893 1			
To the 238 Auxiliary Societies, add those Associations denominated "Branches," amounting to			262		
Total number of Auxiliaries			500		
Total number of Bibles and Testaments issued by the Society } throughout the British Dominions				1,234,727	
Bibles and Testaments issued by the Society on the Continent				64,025	
The Society has aided other Societies on the Continent of } Europe in printing				198,600	
				1,497,362	9½ yrs

* The greater part of this sum consisted of Donations from Birmingham at the commencement of the Auxiliary Society there, which is the cause of its exceeding the amount for the two following years.

less state, is to leave off railing, to do his duty, and to commit the rest to God.

But to do his duty, the minister of the Established Church must understand and feel, before it is too late, what that duty really is. That it is not to perform with official exactness a stated service, to deliver discourses of a cold, preceptive divinity, to maintain the rights, the dues, and the immunities of the clergy, to descant upon the danger of intrusive zeal, and to denounce that activity which it may be troublesome to imitate; but to do the work of God, whose steward he presumes to call himself, faithfully, always regretting the little he can do, and deeming it impossible to do too much; to remember how much has been done for him and for mankind, and in the awful immensity of that obligation, not in the appointed offices or the mere letter of the rubric, to view the extent of his high and holy vocation; in a word, to consider himself as a trustee of human souls with an everlasting responsibility upon his shoulders.

In this deeply accountable and critical situation stand the Clergy and the Church of England, and to the urgency of these duties the Bible Society has greatly added. Thus and only thus it has "interfered with the ministry." It is no wonder that our ecclesiastical frame should require excitement; but it would be painful indeed to suppose that it is incapable of answering to the

The British and Foreign Bible Society having thus been instrumental to the distribution of *one million, four hundred and ninety-seven thousand, three hundred and sixty-two Bibles and Testaments*, within the space of *nine years and a half*, viz. from 17th Sept. 1805, to 31st March, 1815.

In addition to the above sum of £207,896, 1s. 7d. contributed by the Auxiliary Societies in money, they have likewise remitted large sums for the purchase of Bibles, to be distributed in their respective Districts, which are included in the total number specified in the preceding Table.

Besides the	500	Auxiliary Societies in Britain, there are	
In Europe	40	Bible Societies.	
In Asia	4	Do.	Do.
In Africa	2	Do.	Do.
In America	81	Do.	Do.
West Indies	2	Do.	Do.

Forming together, with the } 630 Bible Societies in the World.
Parent Society

The Receipts of the British and Foreign Bible Society, for the Year ending 31st March, 1815, exceeded the expenditure by £18,000; but for Society's orders for Bibles and Testaments, at the latter of these dates, exceeded this balance by £22,000.

The British and Foreign Bible Society appear, by the preceding statement, to have been instrumental to the distribution of nearly a million and a half of Bibles and Testaments in Europe, and by this, and their remittances in money to foreign places, have contributed to the circulation of the Scriptures in **FIFTY-FIVE** languages.

loudest call that can be made on its activity. For though its materials are human, and infirmity adheres to our holiest things, its founders have given it an original temperament so strong and healthy, that could its energies be sufficiently roused, we should not doubt of the triumphant issue of its perils and its trials. Its principal danger arises from the confidence inspired by the memory of its pure and august beginning. Those claims to veneration which it owes to the wisdom of its founders and to the blood of its martyrs, great as they are, are not inexhaustible. It is a capital so frequently drawn upon as at present to be unequal to the exigence of the existing demand. The Church of England must practically approve itself to the nation, as its best guide to heaven, its most authentic pattern of holiness, and the truest depository of "the faith which was once delivered to the saints." It must be "clear in its great office." These are the claims on which it must now depend, and in its contest with sectarian opposition, these are the weapons of its legitimate warfare. The Bible is every where, and is every where operating. The choice among religions, and religious communities, can no longer be indifferent with this holy standard to guide the judgment. Whether right or wrong it is too late to question. It is the state of things, and the Church must lend itself to the impulse. If it is in doctrine and speculation true to the Bible, it must be so in practice too. It must be true to itself—it must listen to what is true of itself—it must bear to be told that, raised above an immediate dependence upon character, its ministry (and it is in function and administration that it embodies itself to the view of the vulgar) displays too many examples of that infirmity of our nature which converts security, by abusing it, into danger.

If we shall be thought by these strictures to be wanting in reverence towards the ministry of the Establishment, we can only say, that, to probe its wounds, argues no want of respect or affection. Such is our respect and affection for it, that we will hazard the worst construction of our motives rather than not expose the danger, while it seems to us to be capable of being averted. To expect from the Clergy of the Church of England, in any of its departments, high or low, faultless conduct, is to forget that they are human. Unjust and illiberal in the extreme would be the censure which, founding itself on a few rare instances of gross misbehaviour, should endeavour to cast a shade of obloquy over the clerical character. Though it may be easily imagined that these instances might be so numerous as to sink the character of the clergy as a body, we will not involve so dignified a class of our fellow subjects in the censure which attaches to a few bad men, whose disorders are by none so much deplored as by the

worthier members of their own order. What we venture thus publicly to regret, in company with many good men, in the present condition of our Church, is the general laxity of its practical discipline, the technical and spiritless manner in which its duties are too frequently discharged, the absolute want of any specific education for the ministry, and the perverse mistakes under which the appointed guardians of the Church appear to lie, touching the relation in which it actually stands with respect to the religious world, and the manner in which the contest is to be maintained with the sectaries of all persuasions.

In adverting to the relaxed state of the discipline of the Church, our object in calling it the "practical" discipline has been to distinguish it from those instituted forms and regulations which compose the legal system of our ecclesiastical government. By practical discipline we mean to express the state of our church institutions and appointments as to real efficiency and operation, and the degree in which they are enforced and observed. The constitutional establishment of our Church has always affected us with wonder and reverence. Every principle of permanence and security which human intelligence could have devised, seems to have entered into its composition. Incorporated with the State, fixed into the soil, wrought into the frame and substance of our laws, majestic in its form, mild in its ordinances, spiritual in its offices, sober in its zeal, sound in its doctrines, it offers to our view a sanctuary not entirely unworthy of being the visible representative of the temple not made with hands, and into which that "holy and harmless" High Priest, who knew no defilement of sin, might not altogether disdain to enter, and receive the hallelujahs of the faithful. Thus in stature, stability, and beauty, stands pre-eminent in Christendom, and among the congregations of the devout on earth, the venerable Church of England,—the mother in whose lap we were born, and from whose bosom we desire never to depart. We do not think lightly of schism. Fixed in these sentiments respecting the Established Church of our country, and satisfied that there is a deep, internal, inseparable bond between Church and State; that religion is the great and golden ligature that binds the constitution around our hearts; that as no religion is safe without a political guarantee, so no state can be happy without a religious foundation; that as *there is one body, one spirit, and one hope of our calling, one Lord, one faith, one baptism, one God*, so that it were devoutly to be wished that in the unity of the Church we could see this catholic doctrine represented;—thus thinking and thus feeling, we are tremblingly anxious at this period of excitement and change, that on the part of the State its connection with the Church should be powerfully and

practically asserted; and that on the part of the clergy the emergency of their duties should be spiritually discerned. England in this hour of peril, expects every clergyman to do his duty! Time presses, reform is necessary, and the great practical question is, who is to begin? To such a question it is doubtless the duty of every clerical member of the Church to answer "I will begin," and forthwith, after conscientiously inquiring what are his duties, not according to his engagement with man, but according to his contract with God, to set about the task.

But, undoubtedly, the most efficient beginning of this reform is in the hands of the Bishops themselves. An increase of episcopal vigilance might accomplish much—a vigilance animated by zeal, but regulated by discretion, and principally exerted in an active and *personal* inquiry into the state of the different parishes in their dioceses, and particularly into the conduct of their clergy. We are well aware of the unbrage which would be taken at such unusual interference; but we are persuaded that the suffrage of all virtuous clergymen would be in favour of it; that the odium would be very short-lived, and would soon give place to a grateful sense of the benefit throughout the whole kingdom. Let the Bishop who neglects these plain and obvious duties of his pastoral function, consider well how far it will avail him in the way of compensation in his solemn account with God, that he has never forgotten in his charges to his Clergy to remind them of the difference between themselves and schismatics, to awaken their suspicions concerning those of their own order to whom they hear the term evangelical applied, and to caution them on the side of intemperate piety, fanatical severity, and officious exertion, which they deemed, or *dreamed*, to be the characteristic failings of the times.

When we think of the dormant state of episcopal discipline, this primum mobile of the machinery of the ecclesiastical establishment, we wish for a voice of thunder to dissipate these dangerous slumbers. Nor do we deem it our duty to apologize for our interference. In this country nothing is raised above responsibility to the nation at large, and however sacred an office may be, there is nothing sacred in official sleep.

That this quiescence in what ought to be the busiest of all situations, does not characterize all ecclesiastical dignitaries, it would, indeed, be the greatest injustice not to acknowledge. There are some great exceptions*; and we are very ready to acknowledge

* It will not, we trust, be accounted flattery, for surely we do not write like flatterers, if we assign a splendid place among these exceptions to the present Bishops of Durham, St. David's, and Gloucester; not meaning, for far be from us such a disposition, by any particular exceptions to cast any invidious reflections

that the episcopal character has frequently in other times, and sometimes in our own, reflected, that it does, in some instances, still reflect a portion of that "care of all the churches," in which the great Apostle summed up the recital of his holy solicitudes.

From these lofty stations the summons to the whole of the church militant in this country would soon be heard, and the Gospel would be surrounded with her proper champions. The voice of their leaders, and still more their example, would shame the slothful and animate the faint-hearted, and greater victories might be gained at home than any arm of flesh has achieved for us abroad.

From the consideration of what might be done, and is left undone, in these high stations of the church, we might, if our limits would allow us, pursue the detail of omissions of duty into all its inferior departments; but we have neither room nor heart for the undertaking. The dread too of being considered as assailing indiscriminately a body for many of whom we entertain so sincere a respect, makes us anxious to pass rapidly to the end of this part of our subject.

This indolence is contagious. The precincts of episcopacy will partake of its character. If, therefore, that character is studious of repose, an air of repose will encompass it. It will appear like the moon encircled with her halo, or resting on her nebulous couch. The cathedral and its close are usually a scene of somnolent tranquillity, unless when a fair is held within the enclosure, or the bustle of an election canvass throws the chapter into commotion. Cathedral service is performed in the same spirit of indolence, where nobody attends that can help it; and if chance or curiosity brings a stranger within the choir in prayer time, he sees little around him but the venerable walls to remind him that he stands before his God on the floor of his dwelling-place.

This indolence in spiritual concerns, alas! is ambulatory; it parades through the diocese with the Bishop, and with the

upon the rest of the dignified persons composing an order to which our hearts always turn with a sort of filial homage. But as we do sincerely view the state of the Church as a state of complicated danger, and as we love the Church, and think the truth is not spoken respecting it by those who are its watey and formal defenders, we have deliberately published our humble and honest sentiments. The Bishop of Gloucester has proved, by preaching twice on the Sunday, and by his visits to the jails, the schools, and to the poor at large, and the Bishop of St. David's by his episcopal circuits through his diocese, and his frequent confirmations, that lawn sleeves are not incompatible with the active duties of a clergyman. The general that has the soldiers of the church militant to command in their Christian warfare, must, like the Duke of Wellington, throw himself among his troops in the moment of danger, and disdain all personal immunity and privilege.

Bishop's Archdeacon, converting their visitations into mere forms, the adumbrations of those godly purposes which they were designed by the Church to accomplish. Whatever else is done at these visitations, it may surely be questioned whether, as they now are conducted, either the Ordinary or his Archdeacon becomes better acquainted by means of them, with the characters of the parochial clergy, or the state of their congregations; whether vice or indecorum, or negligence, is solemnly reproved; whether, in short, the household of God, its spiritual economy, and sacred appointments are diligently inspected and disposed in order.

The intercourse between the parish clergyman and his diocesan should be as intimate, and almost as constant, as that which should exist between the pastor and his congregation. The Church has done nothing in vain. Her different designations of duty stand in a natural and beautiful relation to each other, uniting the whole of her family in mutual dependance, an identity of object, and a common cause. By the omission of any duty a derangement is felt throughout the system. But there is a gradation in these consequences. The higher and more general the office, the wider and more active the mischief of neglecting its duties. It signifies but little to talk about our venerable Church, her noble endowments, her pure ritual, her sublime liturgy; she wants no blandishments; as a mother she expects no compliments from her children. If you that are of her household, desire to protect her from harm, and to vindicate her glory, place her at no jealous distance, arm her with no ægis, surround her with no artillery, enclose her within no frowning battlements, but unfurl her standard in the face of the world, white and spotless as her faith, under the canopy of heaven to which her hope is exalted, on the plain of the universe over which her charity extends; show her as she is in her true majestic comeliness, her primitive attire, her modest dignity, her sober pomp; such as she was seen by those who proclaimed her in the midst of the flames, loved her through imprisonment and torture, and placed the Bible in her hands as the charter of her constitution, and the trophy of their triumphant sufferings.

It may not be amiss sometimes for the clergy to hear a sermon from the laity. To be told how much depends upon them; to be reminded that they are our spiritual guardians, liable, like other guardians, to be called to account. That such an interference should be tempered with delicacy and respect, nor repeated oftener than occasion requires, that it should be grave, liberal, and honest, that it should confine its reproof to those things which are plainly within the reach of remedy, mixing with censure a due value and

reverence for an order which comprises so much individual excellence in all its departments, and which would be sacred, if by nothing else, in virtue of its destination alone; that it should disdain the gossip of the idle and the slander of the malevolent, feeling and allowing for with charitably sympathy and conscious humility the kindred infirmities of a fallen creature, and doing all from Christian love and with Christian temper:—that these should be the characteristics of every remonstrance or appeal addressed to the clergy as a body, none feel more strongly than ourselves. But with these qualifications we cannot but agree with the Author of a little pamphlet which we have lately seen, entitled “Hints to the Clergy of the Established Church;” that the opinion of those who think that the knowledge of such evils as there pointed out, should be kept from the public view, as likely to injure the cause which they are meant to serve, is a wrong opinion; and that on the contrary the safety of the Establishment requires that, as soon as the evil is perceived, no time should be lost in preventing the recurrence, or in arresting the progress of it, by a due exposure and remonstrance. It is, indeed, as is there also observed, a pernicious doctrine, that evils should be left to find their own remedies. We see no remedy for the evils which must arise to the Church from neglect of duty in its ministers but speedy reform; and we doubt the efficacy of a repentance brought about by the terrors of dissolution, supposing the Church not to start at its dangers till it arrives at the edge of the precipice. But how are the people to be kept in ignorance, and if they can be, would any situation of this country be more truly alarming than a confirmed incapacity in the bulk of the people to estimate the conduct of their pastors arising from their spiritual ignorance, and the blunted condition of their religious perceptions.* Let not the clergy think of buying peace at the expense of truth; but let them so live as that they may safely chuse the light rather than darkness, because their ways will bear a candid scrutiny, and other scrutiny than such no son of Adam can endure.

We have not placed among the treatises which stand at the head of this article the pamphlet last mentioned, because we have been told that the sale has been stopped by the author; possibly because he felt a repugnance at giving personal uneasiness (for it must be owned the censure is carried home); possibly also, because as the copies had spread a good deal among the clergy, whom it was designed to awaken, it might appear to the writer that the end of the publication might be answered, as far as it was capable of operating, without further committing the characters of clergymen to reproach. The pamphlet is written without any attempt at fine writing, but with great soberness of thought; and those of the

clerical order in whose hands it may happen to be, will find in the sentiments of this plain man, dealing with plain facts, a great deal of useful admonition embodied, afflicting truths detailed, and fearful possibilities unfolded to his view. If he does not like the production, let him first examine himself as to the motives of his disapprobation, and then strive according to his power over himself, and his influence with others, to prevent the recurrence of such attacks by withdrawing the provocation; and may God assist his sincere endeavours.

We will not dwell upon irritating topics, and shall therefore make but slight mention of some practices and omissions which appear to us to be conducive to the insecurity of the Church: and the disesteem of its ministers; and among the things to be complained of, we shall wholly omit all flagrant immoralities, or profane and profligate associations; they speak their own condemnation to every untainted ear and solid understanding. Whatever is immoral in a layman, is more mischievously and malignantly so in a clergyman; and many things scarcely disreputable, or but ambiguously wrong in others, are decided deformities, to say the least of them, in a dispenser of God's word, and an official servant of Christ.

It cannot be doubted for a moment, by any man commonly sensible, or endued with the primary principles of sound moral taste in character (putting the concerns of the soul for a moment out of consideration), that racing, fox-hunting, and all rough and boisterous pastimes, especially those which border upon cruelty, induce gambling, or lead to noisy conviviality, are to be deprecated in a clergyman. With respect to dancing and card-playing, much may depend upon the degree, the time, the place, and the occasion. They are at least as much "honoured in the breach as in the observance." Public ball-rooms and card assemblies are certainly not the scenes wherein clergymen appear to the most advantage. The reasons are many and not difficult to be assigned; but the consideration of them is scarcely necessary: taste and feeling summarily decide the point. It is enough that no good man likes to see them there. There is in the mass of mankind a natural and general sense of physical and moral proportion which no logic can surpass or subvert. Ignorant men contemplate religion in its professors and raise their thoughts to the conception of its internal excellence upon the testimony of the external marks with which it is accompanied. Religion with them undergoes a kind of personification. That the clergy of this kingdom are improving in religious zeal, and religious consistency of life, we venture fearfully to hope. Whether this improvement keeps pace with the improving spirit of inquiry which

has of late gone forth, is a question of the deepest practical importance to the stability of the Church of England.

The safety of the Church rests much upon the lives, but it also rests much upon the official ability of its clergy. If in theological learning they cannot be reported deficient, (though we cannot think that in this respect their education is sufficiently specific, or admit that Greek and Latin have a right to *all* the first years of a son of the church), for the great and essential objects of enunciation and elocution their education makes no provision. The natural consequence is, that very many are unable to read. It was said by Dr. Johnson, that the first business of an Author was to procure readers: it may with equal truth be said, that it is the first business of a teacher to take care to be heard, and his next to be heard with attention. Decency, or duty, or devotion, may create a congregation; but strength of voice, distinct utterance, and impressive delivery, are necessary to keep them awake. The meeting-house gains more from the church by this defect in the clergy than the clergy can secure from aberration by the utmost learning they can display in defence of the Establishment. After all has been learned that school and college can supply, a young clergyman has need to go to school to nature, to unlearn the tones in which he has been used to sing out his hexameters, or enunciate his declamations at a public school. We can well remember that at colleges, the very constitution of which was wholly clerical, not the smallest attention was ever paid to the manner in which the service was performed in the chapel, and that a correct, tasteful, and earnest manner of reading the lessons, would have subjected a young man to the awful charge of affectation.

Our readers need not be afraid of our entering into the general state of academical education: a few words shall dispatch the subject. In comparison with what it was some years ago, it is impossible not to admit that it presents a very improved appearance, as well in its arrangements for liberal instruction, as in the habits of moral behaviour. Still, however, a long residence in either of our Universities cannot be favourable to that zeal or activity of disposition which are wanted in a pastor of a parish, or to brace the mind for those gratuitous offices which are the sinews of a laborious ministry. The divinity, also, of persons who have passed through the grades of academical education, is apt to be of too ethical a cast for sound evangelical instruction. The waters of comfort to which the poor should be invited to come and quench their thirst, have never washed the foot of Helicon, or glided along the pleasant bank where Socrates sat and discoursed. No knowledge is adapted to the pulpit but the saving knowledge of the Gospel, and there is nothing in a Christian's hope independent of him who has opened the only road that leads to heaven.

The want of keeping this for ever in view is one of the dangers of the Church, and has given to dissenters an occasion of cavil. Yet mark the folly of many misled defenders of our Church Establishment, who have found out reproachful terms for those who with more than common zeal keep the Saviour in their view, and maintain "the Bible and nothing but the Bible to be the religion of the Church of England." These ill-founded jealousies and divisions within her own walls are among the most formidable dangers of the Church.

The abuses of patronage, and the facility of ordination, may be dismissed with this short observation, that those who are the willing or the negligent instruments of bringing unworthy persons into the ministry, have to answer to God for wounding Christianity through the sides of the Church.

What shall we more say? Would that nothing more remained; and that the short notice which we have taken of that most palpable and imminent danger to our Church, which arises from the want of room for the worship of God within the walls of our establishment, were all that the subject demanded; but we should feel ourselves coming very short of the object of this article, which is that of placing before our readers what we conceive to be the real dangers of the Church, if we omitted to bring most distinctly to their consideration the very masterly, but afflicting picture of a sort of physical evil in the state of the Church, drawn with as much feeling as truth by the chaplain of Chelsea College. We have still in our minds the painful remembrance of the fate of the proposition of Dr. Middleton, the late vicar of St. Pancras, for building a new church in that parish, a parish with a population of 50,000 souls, and a church incapable of holding above 300 persons. We remember with sorrow that the efforts of that accomplished clergyman, and of some of the parishioners, fell to the ground, under the weight of a majority which, as it owed its existence to the want of church room in the parish, was therefore in itself a practical argument against its own unhallowed opposition.

The legislature was deaf to the cries of the Church, and so it has remained. Meanwhile there has been a sort of imbecile agitation among the more distinguished friends of the Establishment. The cry of "Church in Danger," has increased among them. They have been running to and fro, like persons in a besieged city, not knowing where the breach has been made. In their confusion and terror they have imputed treachery to their most faithful supporters, and have filled the garrison with suspicions and dissections, at a time when, without union, all must be lost. It would be consolatory, indeed, to hope that Mr. Yates's publication may have so pointed out this most critical danger to the Church, arising from want of church room, as to suspend this foolish up-

roar about Bible Societies and evangelical preachers, and to unite every heart and hand within the pale of the Establishment, in an endeavour to save it from this manifest and immediate peril. We will extract a page or two from the pamphlet now before us, in which Mr. Yates has shown the extent of this evil, in the district generally included under the term metropolis.

"This," says Mr. Yates, "according to Mr. Rickman's statement in the Appendix to the Parliamentary Enumeration, includes all the parishes whose churches are about eight miles distant from St. Paul's Cathedral. And this circle is estimated to contain, according to the last return, including a twenty-fifth part added for fluctuating population, one million two hundred and twenty thousand inhabitants.

"That part of this district which is included within the walls of the city of London, the piety, zeal, and wisdom of our ancestors hath amply provided with churches, ministers, and parish officers. Indeed in a much larger proportion than is now necessary. The present number of churches and parishes being evidently formed upon a much more numerous population than at present inhabit London within the walls of the city. But although the changing stream of population hath forced itself into new channels, the former structures and divisions remain, and cannot benefit the population that has left them.

"The present population of the city of London, 55,484, with the addition of one-twenty-fifth, making together 57,700, must therefore be deducted, leaving

"One million one hundred and sixty-two thousand three hundred inhabitants in the surrounding parishes to be the subject of present consideration.

"In this estimation, the number of parishes is not specified, but it appears intended to include in this remaining part of the metropolis, the district irregularly divided into the four following compartments.—The village parishes not within the bills of mortality.—The city parishes without the walls.—The city of Westminster.—And the out-parishes.

"This circle, according to the present distribution, includes sixty-four parishes in Middlesex, twenty-one in Surrey, four in Kent, and four in Essex, making together ninety-three parishes. This computation extends, in several points somewhat beyond the eight miles from St. Paul's; and therefore gives the total number of parishes larger than a rigid accuracy might warrant.

"A general average outline may be drawn with sufficient precision for the present purpose, if we allow that these ninety-three parish churches can each accommodate two thousand persons, which is much more than the fact, in regard to many of them. Upon this supposition the means of parochial worship will be afforded to one hundred and eighty-six thousand only; leaving a surplus population in this district alone of nine hundred and seventy-six thousand, without the means of parochial communion with the Church of England. If from this number we deduct thirty thousand, for the wealthier members of the community who may attend divine service in chapels, there will then remain in this comparatively small space

“Nine hundred and forty-six thousand souls, without any accommodation in a parish church, or any knowledge of a parish minister; without any participation in the instructions of our liturgy, and therefore probably without any regard or attachment to the Established Church.

“A result, in numbers so enormous, and in probable consequences so terrific, appals the imagination. The visible and tremendous effects of such powerful demoralizing causes have been in our times (and are likely to continue to be) so severely felt, that the mind shrinks from the contemplation of such a concentrated mass of exclusion, separation, and necessary disaffection to the Established Church.—Shut out, in fact, from the pale of the Church, from all participation in its benefits, these numbers are necessarily driven to join the ranks of injurious opposition, either in dissent, and sectarian enthusiasm:—or in the infinitely more dangerous opposition of infidelity, atheism, and ignorant depravity.—Such a mine of heathenism, and consequent profligacy and danger, under the very meridian (as it is supposed) of Christian illumination, and accumulated around the very centre and heart of British prosperity, liberty, and civilization, cannot be contemplated without terror by any real and rational friend of our Established Government in Church and State: and it is surely sufficient to awaken the anxious attention of every true patriot, every enlightened statesman, every sincere advocate of suffering humanity, and every intelligent and faithful Christian.” (P. 48—52)

Mr. Yates then takes a detailed view of the case, and clearly establishes his general statement, by showing the number of inhabitants and extent of church accommodation, in each parish within the circuit of which he has been speaking; and then proceeds thus:

“This number exceeds (by upwards of 6,000) the entire population of the nine counties, Hertfordshire, Bedfordshire, Buckinghamshire, Berkshire, Dorsetshire, Oxfordshire, Northamptonshire, Huntingdonshire, and Cambridgeshire, containing sixteen hundred and fifty-two parish churches. If we suppose the surplus population of the metropolis district just noticed, to be so distributed as actually to occupy the entire space of these nine counties, and to be left without a church, without a minister, without any instruction for either adults or children, without any divine worship, without any parochial communion with the established religion of the state; your Lordship certainly will be of opinion that such a circumstance would attract great attention, and excite a proportionate astonishment and alarm.

“But a similar, if not greater, danger has long been suffered to exist and to increase, without any legislative notice or remedy, from the same number, compressed indeed into a smaller space, but left wholly, as to the individuals concerned, in the same dark and disastrous condition, without any instruction or protection from the established religion; and as to the State, presenting a case of aggravated danger, from that very compression, which excites and stimulates an augmented degree of disaffection, profligacy, and vice.” (P. 77—78.)

Such is the picture which Mr. Yates holds to our astonished view, of the forlorn state of the Church of England. A few bright spots of verdure, like oases, present themselves in the plains over which the establishment of the Church of England nominally extends; but the weary traveller faints before he can reach them. If he arrives he finds no place where there is room for him to rest his head, and is turned out again, into a dry and thirsty land where no water is. Under such difficulties, to emigrate is better than to starve; better to seek a domicile among strangers than to live like an alien in the land of one's ancestors.

Nothing can be imagined more worthy of the attention of the statesman to whom they are addressed, than the observations that follow:

“Another source of the apprehended danger of the Established Church has been supposed, by some of its most zealous friends, to exist in the increase of what is called methodism. And the only probable means of securing the Established Church is thought, by them, to be the restraint and coercion of this hostile power; though it has not, I believe, been pointed out by what means such restraint and coercion are to be effected, without violating that toleration which is one of the most glorious and valuable gems in the epoch of our Ecclesiastical Establishment.

“The perusal of the foregoing pages may have convinced your Lordship, that the increase of methodism and sectarian disunion ought to be considered a consequence rather than a cause of the present state of the Established Church. It has been made evident that, around the metropolis, a very large proportion of the nominal members of the Church are totally excluded from parochial instruction, and know nothing of our excellent liturgy.

“The law of the land, as it is supposed to stand at present, prohibits, except under certain difficult regulations, the building and opening of any places of public worship for the use of the liturgy of the Church of England. But structures for every other mode of worship may be erected and opened, by any person so inclined, upon the easy condition of obtaining a licence from the magistrates, granted by the law upon a very inconsiderable pecuniary payment.

“To complain of the increase of sectaries and methodists cannot therefore answer any good purpose, while we have no churches to receive them, even if they wished to join our congregations; and while the law permits them, if they continue to dissent, to build as many chapels as they please; but if they conform to the liturgy, the privilege of providing themselves with the means of public worship is immediately denied, although the Establishment, in its present state, does not itself afford that essential supply.

“It is not at all wonderful, therefore, that in districts where numerous sheep are shut out from the possibility of receiving instruction in the fold of the regular Shepherd, some of them should seek refuge and refreshment from the care and zeal of self-appointed pastors.

" This part of the subject may receive illustration from most of the newly-populated districts of England. As the metropolis has been so largely expatiated upon, two examples from country towns may be sufficient for present notice.

" The increasing town of Cheltenham, with a population of eight thousand three hundred and twenty-five, is still supplied with only one parish church, and the whole is placed under the parochial and pastoral charge of one minister. The different sentiments of our ancestors are evidenced by the state of the neighbouring city, Gloucester, which with a population of only eight thousand two hundred and eighty, is divided into ten parishes, with as many parochial churches, without including the cathedral and its clergy.

" Brighton is also one of those modern towns, for the increasing population of which the law makes no provision. The want of edifices for the public worship of the members of the Church of England in this town has been long felt. A chapel was recently erected by some gentlemen for the celebration of divine service, according to the liturgy of the Church of England. After much literary discussion with the vicar of the parish and the bishop of the diocese, the vicar thought it his duty to enforce the law, as it is conceived at present to stand, and to shut up the chapel. This was subsequently confirmed by the judgment of Sir John Nicholl.—The chapel has since been advertised for sale, and sold; and may be opened without further expence or trouble, by the methodists or any sectarian form of worship, upon the easy terms of taking a licence from the magistrates.—The present effect of the law, in restricting and restraining the service of the Church of England, may be further illustrated by comparing the circumstances of this modern town and the two neighbouring antient ones, Chichester and Lewes. Chichester, with a population of six thousand four hundred and twenty-five, is divided into eight parishes, with churches, exclusive of the cathedral. Lewes has a population of six thousand two hundred and twenty-one, and is divided into six parishes, with a church and minister to each.

" Brighton when a small fishing town was furnished with one church and one minister. It is now increased to a resident population of twelve thousand and twelve inhabitants; and the law still continues that number in one parish, under the pastoral care of one minister and the same one church; which upon the largest computation cannot supply the benefit of the liturgical instruction of the Church of England to more than 3,000, leaving a surplus population of nine thousand without parochial communion with the Church of England.—Such instances may more properly be termed exclusion rather than defection from the Established Church: they may account for the increase of methodism and dissent, but certainly cannot be assigned to the zeal or activity of sectaries. They arise solely from a disuse of the wise practice of our ancestors.—The continuance of such a system must indeed be highly injurious, and may be ultimately fatal, to the Established Church. It can only be remedied by the legislators of the Established Church itself.

" The evils of enthusiasm, and the crime of schism, have been much

expatiated upon, and are sufficiently evident. But the age of prevailing fanaticism is passed. The tolerant and judicious spirit of the Established Church hath disarmed this enemy of its power to injure the public. The miserable cant of "Seeking the Lord" will not now fill the House of Commons; nor that of "doing the Lord's work," close the doors against its lawful occupiers. The same contemptible and ambitious selfishness that under the cloak of religion perpetrated such outrages, now shelters itself under the more fashionable and specious mask of patriotism, philosophy, and reform. But the infidelity and heathenism of the present day are as abhorrent and injurious to the fair forms of those splendid principles, as the bigotry and fanaticism of the last age were contrary to the beneficent and amiable character of true Christianity.

"If not counteracted by the diffusion of juster motives of conduct, and the more general acknowledgement of that basis of useful patriotism, philosophy, and reform, which the Gospel can alone supply, such infidelity and heathenism may undermine or overwhelm our best institutions. Their rapidly increasing influence is therefore much to be deprecated. Formerly vice, as well as folly, assuming the garb and disgracing the language of religion, was justly dreaded; now these delusions are no longer equally to be feared. It must be evident to every observant mind that our greatest danger cannot, in the present age, arise from any doctrinal errors of religion; but from a total abandonment of the whole Christian dispensation,—an utter disregard and dereliction of all religious principles. Eager and exaggerated crimination among those who still "name the name of Christ," can therefore only injure the cause of the Gospel, by lacerating and inflaming the wound of separation.

"And in corroboration of this remark, it may be observed, that it is not from the most discreet friends, and greatest ornaments of the Church of England,—the wisest men, and the best informed divines,—that the reproachful epithets,—methodist, calvinist, arminian, and enthusiast, are so frequently heard.—If intemperate and unfounded charges are made against the Church and its ministers, which is indeed too frequently the case, it becomes us to demonstrate the falsehood and folly of such invectives, and the superior excellence of our own principles, by the superior candour and charity of our demeanour. The opprobrious use of invidious distinctions cannot in the least restrain the spirit of disunion; but must increase the danger of the Church of England, by lowering the dignity and respectability of its advocates; and degrading that truly Christian temper which 'is not easily provoked, and thinketh no evil;—that most excellent gift of charity, the 'very bond of peace and of all virtues, without which whosoever liveth is counted dead' before the merciful and gracious God of the Gospel,—the Creator, Redeemer, and Sanctifier of Christians—'who 'is no respecter of persons,' and accepteth those who serve him with 'an humble, lowly, penitent, and obedient heart.'

"It is indeed much easier divinity, both in churchmen and their opponents, rashly to censure each other, to assert that the Gospel is not preached in the Church, or that it is debased in the assemblies of the

methodists,—to brandish the terms calvinist, and enthusiast, arminian, and legalist,—than it is to state and examine the questions upon which religious distinctions are founded.

“The scriptural exposition, the candid forbearance, and the practical piety of the liturgy of the Church of England, would afford, to the large body of the people, the surest antidote to the virulence of such discussions.

“But the poor are not and cannot in general be judges of difficult doctrinal distinctions. From the most ranting religious enthusiast, they will, at least, hear the great doctrines of a God, and a Saviour, an heaven and an hell: they will learn that ‘Death is’ not ‘Eternal sleep;’ but that as it is appointed to men once to die, so also after death they must be called to judgment. These awful truths will necessarily lay some restraint upon vice and passion, and may lead to further thought and inquiry. Candour and charity might therefore readily allow that it is much safer for the State, and much better for the individuals, that the poor man should pass his Sunday in any methodistic conventicle, rather than spend it in the degrading haunts of idleness, disaffection, intemperance, and vice. Unhappily, the present state of extensive districts in the metropolis, and various other parts of the country, presents no other alternative, and gives the poor no other choice.” (P. 95—101.)

These facts and these observations are intensely true; and under such great and exigent circumstances, nothing can be more contemptibly absurd than for the Legislature of the United Kingdom to refrain from acting, till they are called upon by the particular parishes where this sad deficiency is found, but where probably every low intrigue and vulgar jealousy, every narrow prejudice and sordid principle, oppose themselves to the demands of God and the soul. If they must first know who calls before they will answer, we venture to tell them, that the excommunicated half of the nation calls: that if their wishes do not speak, their wants speak only the more strongly. Long absence will extinguish love; but there is a tongue in this *indifference* that speaks more strongly than a thousand petitions. The people cannot be expected to be much interested in behalf of a Church which has so long shut its doors against them. But this want of interest is the consequence, not the cause: it is not “the cause of defection, but the consequence of exclusion.” If, therefore, this state of indifference in a parish, whether there shall be a church or not, is urged as an argument against the interference of the Legislature, we can only say, that we never heard a better example of what, in logic, is termed *exceptio ejusdem rei cuius peritur dissolutio*. A few pages more from Mr. Yates will show the great measure proposed by him, in a light of practicability well worthy of the attention of the State.

“Occupied in diffusing, inculcating, and defending the saving and consolatory truths of the Gospel; in admonishing error, repressing

crime, alleviating misery, and instilling and confirming the sublimest hope, the studious Divine, or the active Parochial Minister, is alike constituted by his profession and employment, the friend of humanity and the benefactor of his country.

"To extend this instructive, restraining, and humanizing process into districts of population that have not yet partaken of its energizing influence, appears to be, under the blessing of Providence, the most probable and only efficient means of averting the danger that now impends over the Established Church; and of giving it that safety, prosperity, and increase, so justly merited by its distinguished excellencies,—by the tolerant, beneficent, and pious spirit of its institutions.

"This great national benefit can only be effected by the wisdom of Parliament. And it appears now absolutely necessary to the *stability of the Church of England*, and to the *security and preservation of our Established Constitutional Government*, that a law should be forthwith enacted,

"TO DIVIDE THE PRESENT LARGE PARISHES into smaller parishes, each containing an allotted ratio and proportion of population appropriate to the purposes of parochial instruction and superintendence:

"To erect, as nearly as possible, in the centre of each of these divisions, not already so provided, a proper edifice for the due celebration of divine worship according to the liturgy of the Church of England; A SUFFICIENT PART OF THE SAME TO BE FITTED UP WITH PROPER SEATS FOR THE ACCOMMODATION OF THE LOWER CLASSES OF THE PARISHIONERS, and the remainder to be let out to the more wealthy inhabitants: the pew-rents thus arising to form a part of the maintenance of the minister:

"To provide a proper habitation for a resident minister, and to secure the appointment of such a minister under the established episcopal authority, not only to conduct the public worship, but also to reside in, and take parochial charge of, the parish, and perform the useful and important duties of the pastoral office.

"And the wise provisions of such an Act might be extended to all new districts of future increasing or changing population, by enacting, that whenever three or four hundred houses are built, the proprietors of the land, and of the improved rents, should allot a proper space for a church to be erected, and the due parochial duties performed under the regulations of the Act.

"Judging from the present state of all the ancient towns and cities of England, it appears to have been the practice of our forefathers thus to divide the parishes, and build churches, as the number of inhabitants increased; though the manner and circumstances of making these useful parochial divisions are perhaps, in many instances, irretrievably lost; such is therefore certainly the ancient usage, if not the ancient law, of the land. But as, at the time of the Reformation, no express statute was enacted for continuing this only efficient mode of giving parochial instruction to any augmenting population,"

the wise system of our more zealous ancestors has been hitherto very imperfectly acted upon. The long discontinuance of this practice has certainly accumulated difficulties to impede and embarrass its resumption.

“ But the general outline being drawn, and sanctioned by the Legislature, the details, in particular instances, might be accommodated to the varying circumstances of individual cases.

“ Even great and acknowledged difficulties are not permitted to deter the comprehensive mind of the judicious and energetic statesman from undertaking plans of radical and evident utility.

“ If the powers vested in the commissioners appointed to carry into effect such an Act be sufficiently ample and decisive, many difficulties arising from mistaken prejudices, or perverse opposition, may be easily overcome; and on the discretion and ability with which the commissioners discharge the important duties to be entrusted to them, it would, doubtless, depend to remove many minor and unexpected obstacles.—Some of the more general and important would of course be anticipated and provided for by the aid of past experience or prudent foresight.” (P. 126—130.)

It was not to be expected that Mr. Yates would, in a treatise consisting of little more than 200 pages, enter minutely into the manner of accomplishing this great object. It would have been inconsistent with his excellent sense so to have done. The multiplicity of such a detail, involving consequences certainly very wide in extent, affecting in some degree our poor laws, the rights of property, and the patronage and jurisdiction of the Church, would only have tended to fritter away the consideration of the grand indispensable object which he has placed before the eye of the Legislature; and which, unless it is felt as equal in magnitude to any of the great constituents of our civil polity, will have but small chance of success. Little men, or men with little views, will be sure to make much of little difficulties; and every petty argument of inconvenience will be stretched to its utmost dimensions, in opposition to a measure which proposes an untangible good, and which menaces the sanctuary of the pocket. The Government has enemies, the Church more, real spiritual Christianity most: all these will be in array against a measure far more conducive than any that, in this time of peril, can be devised to secure the high and palmy state to which this nation has arrived, from “all sedition, privy conspiracy, and rebellion; from all false doctrine, heresy, and schism; from hardness of heart, and contempt of God’s word and commandment.”

Mr. Yates has adverted slightly to some of the topics which are necessarily involved in the consideration of the measure. And as, in this manner of treating this part of his subject, he appears to us to have shown great sobriety and discernment, we will again present him to our readers.

“ The present established administration of the poor’s rate is thought by many to present an obstacle of considerable magnitude to the plan for dividing the larger into smaller parishes, each with distinct and independent authority in itself. This difficulty hath grown up with the danger to the Church, which now requires a remedy. The alteration which, since the period of the Reformation, hath taken place in the manner of assisting the temporal wants of the poor, renders it now less easy to supply their spiritual necessities by such a division of these extensive districts into smaller parishes, as the purposes of religious instruction absolutely require. But if this difficulty could, by a temperate and discriminating perseverance, be surmounted, the result, by placing the poor under a more direct and personal superintendence of their parish minister and parish officers, giving them more of a Christian character, and of consequence more industry, economy, and temperance, might produce a reduction in the present enormous tax now levied for their relief; and thus offer to the wealthier class of the community advantages not particularly contemplated in the view now intended to be taken of the subject.

“ Most essential and important benefits must accrue to the State, when the parochial divisions of the population are of such a moderate numerical extent, as to enable the parish minister and parish officers to exercise that sort of preventive police which is necessarily dependant upon, and derived from, a personal knowledge and inspection of all the poor and labouring classes. This preventive and corrective police, as it may be termed, is not only far more consonant to the principles of humanity and religion, but is also by far the best means of safety to the rich, and much more conducive to the stability of the state than the vindictive police of punishment.

“ This being one of the most conspicuous advantages to the community resulting from parochial instruction and the residence of the clergy upon their cures, it not only enforces the necessity of legislative interference to provide for and secure such a division of the population as is requisite to the effective administration of this part of our constitutional government; but it also points to the true wisdom, and most beneficial course of legislation upon the subject of clerical duties and clerical residence. The first object of the law must be to give the greatest degree of attention to the greatest extent of population, and to proportion to the natural and usual powers of an individual the division of that population allotted to the charge of an individual minister. Upon the apportioning of resident clergy, according to the number of inhabitants, and not according to the pecuniary produce, or the superficial surface of parishes, depends all the advantages of an established church in regard to religious instruction and good government. If the people be provided with a resident minister equal to their instruction, it is not very essential to them whether he be rector or curate. But legislative acts that place resident clergy in villages, and operate not upon the immense masses of town population, contribute very little to the safety and protection either of church or state. For, in fact, the most dangerous haunts of vice, that spread their destructive contagion far beyond their own limits, are to be found in those overgrown and uncon-

troublesome accumulations of uninstructed human beings, where the letter of the residence acts is complied with, but where one resident curate and one set of parish officers have the nominal charge of duties, which, to perform, is a natural impossibility, and which, in other parts of the country, are intrusted to forty or fifty resident ministers, and as many sets of parish officers.

“The necessary regulations and enactments of such a law must be expected to interfere with some of the real or supposed interests of individuals. In those instances, just and legal compensations will, of course, be awarded. That some difficulties may occur in the arrangement of boundaries, the purchasing of sites, the valuation of exemptions and privileges, and other minutiae of detail, can be an objection of no greater weight to a plan conducive and even necessary to the public welfare, than it is to Acts of inclosure: Acts for paving, lighting, and cleansing: Acts for building party-walls: and similar local and district, as well as more general enactments. In all these, certain compulsory measures are employed, and the owners, landholders, and tenants, the proprietors and occupiers of lands and houses, are placed under a legal necessity of contributing to the public safety and the public convenience.

“Surely, therefore, similar means may be, and ought to be, resorted to for objects of infinitely higher importance, the moral habits of the people, and consequently the most vital interests, not only of the lower classes, but also of all the superior orders of society.

“In addition to the prominent difficulty already noticed, another of considerable magnitude may be expected to arise, in regard to a just and respectable maintenance of the ministers to be appointed; and a legal compensation to the present incumbents of those large parishes that it may be necessary to divide, and who, by such division, must be deprived of a great part of their income. This difficulty is the greater, because, in most of the cases, the present ecclesiastical payments are in no sufficient degree proportionate to the numbers of people, or the aggregate worth of the property receiving the protection of the state; and therefore bound in wisdom and justice to contribute to its preservation. Perhaps the least objectionable, and certainly the most efficient maintenance for the parochial ministers may be found to be the enactment of a small rent-charge in each parochial division, in addition to the established parochial payments and fees, and the rents to be received for a part of the pews in every parish church. Under such an arrangement, the present incumbents might each retain their present church, encircled with a proportionate district, according to its capacity of receiving a congregation; and as this law, if enacted, must be gradual in its operation, the defalcation of income might, under a recommendation from the Honourable House of Commons, be compensated to each of them by one of the cathedral dignities, as vacancies occur, compatible with the parochial duties, and giving a life interest, similar to the present possession.

“One of the first points requiring attention under the proposed Act, would be, to purchase and convert into parish churches, with districts or bounds of parishes assigned to them, such of the present existing

chapels as may appear to the commissioners suited to that purpose. The proper remuneration to the present proprietors would of course be estimated and awarded according to the legal and usual methods in similar cases. The church duties, and the pastoral care of the allotted district, being assigned to a resident minister appointed under the authority of the Act, parochial communion and connection would be established between the minister and the congregation; and thus would be removed one of the greatest injuries of the present chapel system, the total and absolute separation that now exists between the preacher and his hearers." (P. 130—137).

We must now, for the present at least, take leave of this awfully interesting subject, oppressed by its magnitude, and exhausted by the solicitude which has accompanied us through the course of our hasty composition. It is most probable that we shall feel ourselves called upon to resume it. In the mean time we indulge the expectation, that Mr. Yates's production will appear to have made the general impression which it is so well calculated to produce. Since the commencement of the *British Review*, a pamphlet of greater intelligence and importance has not attracted its attention. Now that he has put his hand to the plough, we entreat him not to withdraw it. The subject is, in a great measure, his own. The fervent effectual labours of a pious man will avail much. It is by single efforts that the great deciding impulse has been given to all undertakings of eminent utility and goodness. It is thus that the abolition of the slave trade has been accomplished. One man stood between the living and the dead, and so that plague was stayed. Let Mr. Yates persevere; his prudence will secure him from excess, his sincerity will support his zeal, his intelligence will arm his wishes. While others are cumbered about much serving with respect to the Church, he will be busy about that which is essentially needful. The city of God with its rising glories will in part own him for its founder: and if any shall hereafter among its new-born structures inquire for his monument, the proper answer will be, *CIRCUMSPICE*.

ART. XIII.—*Roderick, the last of the Goths*. By Robert Southey, Esq. Poet Laureate,* and Member of the Royal Spanish Academy. In 2 vols. 12mo. Third Edition. London. Longman and Co. 1815.

WE live, and let us feel it a privilege that we do so, in times that are signalized by the correction of abuses, and the renewal of a vigorous system of activity in many departments, in which a sleepy torpor seemed established by precedent. The office of

Poet-laureat ranked proverbially high in this list, and we must confess, that the first effort of Mr. Southey's muse, after he had accepted it, rather damped the hopes of practical reform which such an appointment had encouraged, and led us to fear that the mantle of his predecessors must have descended to him, as an heir-loom most unfortunately attached to his office. We therefore hail with peculiar satisfaction the appearance of a Poem well calculated to dispel this alarm, and to convince us that though "the cloud-compelling queen" succeeded for a moment in a struggle to maintain her "old empire," her dethronement and expulsion have at length been fully accomplished.

Mr. Southey began his poetical career with rather an ominous disregard of the rule which Horace, knowing probably the extreme to which his brethren are most addicted, has certainly laid down rather broadly; and we suspect that in several other instances, besides that of the noted six-week's epic, the fruits of his genius have wanted that rich flavour which ensures universal applause, in great measure because they have not been allowed time to ripen. If we add to those volumes which bear his name all the works in which his free and masterly hand may be traced, it will be found that his pen is both versatile and active in the extreme; and the marvel will be, that one, who has written so much, should have written so well. Still, in tenderness to his fame, which must ultimately depend, not on the quantity, but the quality of his literary productions, we have often wished to trace in his works some increasing symptoms of elaboration, and are happy to say that our wish has at length been gratified. Indeed he has, in this instance, so far deviated from his usual practice, as to have kept the public for some time in expectation; the poem of which we are about to give some account being, no doubt, the same which was more than once announced as forthcoming in his publishers' prospective list, under the title of "Pelayo, the Restorer of Spain." Rapidly, however, as Mr. Southey may have written in former instances, his productions have uniformly borne strong and decided marks of a rich and vigorous imagination, an ear nicely tuned to the harmony of eloquence, and an elevated tone of moral sentiment. These, and other praiseworthy qualities, have been counterbalanced in different instances by a puerile affectation of simplicity, a boldness amounting to temerity in the assumption of metrical licence, and a wild extravagance of fiction which has divested his leading characters of that power of exciting the interest of sympathy, which the magic wand of Nature has confined within the circle of human possibilities. If we may be allowed rather to exceed the bounds of our peculiar province, at the impulse of a feeling too pleasurable to be resisted, we would cordially congratulate Mr. Southey on the eminent proofs afforded by his last poem, of

his possessing a mind sufficiently humble and sufficiently strong to see and to correct his own deficiencies. In former instances he has reminded us of the bold and graceful but irregular movements of an untrained steed, starting with unrivalled speed, but forfeiting the prize by deviating from the course. Here we see him distancing most of his competitors, and gaining ground upon the foremost, by submitting to the rein, and doing full justice to his powers by a sober and well-disciplined use of them. In "*Thalaba*," his skill in producing rhythmical harmony has done much, in spite of his contempt of all metrical rules. But surely the effect, though less striking perhaps, is much more pleasing and satisfactory, when, as in this instance, rhythm and metre combine to gratify the ear. The wild and uncertain, but exquisitely touching notes of an Eolian harp, swept "*leniore halitu sibilantis Euri*," will either soothe or excite the mind, according as it is previously disposed, most pleasingly for a time; but soon pall upon the ear, and produce a sensation of weariness. But give the same notes all the advantage of skilful and harmonious modulation, and we listen to them repeatedly with renovated delight.

Nor is this the only instance in which we can trace the happy result of a combination of two qualities, in one of which our author has formerly seemed deficient. The bold eccentricities of his truly inspired fancy are here chastened by a correct taste; and his characteristic simplicity, though by no means renounced, is elevated and ennobled. But the improvement which strikes us most forcibly is this—that the high tone of moral feeling, which always made a favourable, but yet a vague and indeterminate impression on the mind, and which always seemed to aim at some laudable and exalted end, but failed in the discovery of means adequate to its attainment, now takes a palpable form, and an honourable name. The shapeless though shining vapour of an aspiring philosophy has been condensed into the substance of a defined and efficacious, though, as we shall hereafter show, in some respects imperfect religion. The consequence is, that the man who values eternity too highly to be willing to devote much of his time to any thing that has not some bearing upon it, may take up this poem with the assurance of never reading many pages in it without being reminded of his highest duties and most important interests, of the themes which most effectually elevate his mind, and most deeply penetrate his heart.

We now proceed to give some account of this Poem, which for sustained depth of interest, for strong and varied character, and for exalted sentiment and diction, may challenge a competition with the first of our day. It is founded on the traditionary

account of the first introduction of the Moors into Spain by Count Julian.—

A private wrong
Rous'd the remorseless Baron. Mad to wreak
His vengeance for his violated child
On Roderick's head, in evil hour for Spain,
For that unhappy daughter and himself,
Desperate apostate, on the Moors he call'd."

After a spirited description of their approach to the coast of Spain, the hero of the poem is introduced at the close of the last great battle, in which the Goths made head against them.

————— "Bravely in that eight-days fight
The King had striven,—for victory first, while hope
Remained, then desperately in search of death.
The arrows past him by to right and left,
The spear-point pierced him not, the scymitar
Glanced from his helmet. Is the shield of Heaven,
Wretch that I am, extended over me?
Cried Roderick; and he dropt Orelia's reins,
And threw his hands aloft in frantic prayer,—
Death is the only mercy that I crave,
Death soon and short, death and forgetfulness!
Aloud he cried; but in his inmost heart
There answered him a secret voice, that spake
Of righteousness and judgement after death,
And God's redeeming love, which fain would save
The guilty soul alive. 'Twas agony,
And yet 'twas hope;—a momentary light,
That flash'd through utter darkness on the Cross
To point salvation, then left all within
Dark as before." (Vol. I. p. 4, 5.)

We have quoted this passage as affording something of a clue to the subsequent history of Roderick. He escapes from the field in a peasant's garment taken from the dead, forsaking his horse and armour, and thus giving rise to a general conviction that he had lost his life in the conflict. He continues his flight during seven days, driven to desperation by the scenes of misery which surround him, by recollections of the past, but most of all by the haunting vision of Florinda;

————— "that agony
Still in her face, which, when the deed was done,
Inflicted on her ravisher the curse
That it invok'd from Heaven."

At length he reaches a monastery near Merida deserted by all its inhabitants, Romano excepted, an aged monk, who could

not leave this beloved spot, but awaited the approach of the "merciless misbelievers," a willing martyr, and

"In such high mood of saintly fortitude,
That hope of heaven became a heavenly joy."

An affecting scene ensues between the penitent fugitive and the monk, who, with a wise preference of an act of practical benevolence to a crown of needless martyrdom, accompanies him in a wearisome flight to the western coast, where they take up their abode in a hermitage. Romano dies at the end of twelve months, and the second Canto contains a description of Roderick's subsequent state, when left in entire solitude, which is full of truth and nature. Sometimes he is tempted to take a palliating view of his crime, and sometimes driven to despair by its magnitude: now he would undertake

"any thing
Of action, difficulty, bodily pain,
Labour, and outward suffering—any thing
But stillness and this dreadful solitude."

and now he thinks of finding rest in suicide. At length he is both consoled and roused by a dream, which gives him the hope that he may still receive a blessing from his mother, Rusilla; still hear the shout of "Spain and Victory!" and in this hope determines to quit his retirement.

The third Canto opens with this happy description of a morning scene—

"'Twas now the earliest morning; soon the sun,
Rising above Albardos, poured his light
Amid the forest, and with ray aslant
• Entering its depth, illumed the branchless pines,
Brightened their bark, tinged with a redder hue
Its rusty stains, and cast along the floor
Long lines of shadow, where they rose erect
Like pillars of the temple. With slow foot
Roderick pursued his way." (Vol. I. p. 27.)

The state of his mind on first emerging from solitude, and passing through the city of Leyria, is described with much animation. At length he reaches the smoking ruins of Auria, recently sacked and burnt by the Moors; and finds but one of its inhabitants left alive, Adosinda, the daughter of its late governor. After burying, with Roderick's help, her parents, husband, and child, worked up to a high mood of desperate resolve by her own and her country's wrongs, she solemnly devotes herself to the task of taking vengeance on the Moors, and liberating Spain from their yoke. He follows her example, but

in terms which we could willingly see altered, and to which we shall refer hereafter. They part (after she has given him the name of Maccabee, in consequence of his wishing to conceal his own), she to rouse her father's vassals, he, at her desire, to consult with Odoar, the abbot of St. Felix, on the choice of a future monarch for Spain, to head their cause. Pelayo, the son of Favila, Roderick's uncle, is fixed upon, both from regard to his personal character, and his descent from Spanish blood; and the supposed Maccabee is sent to bear the intelligence to him at Cordoba, where he was detained by the jealousy of the Moorish court. Before he departs, Urban, the Archbishop of Toledo, thus addresses him :

" The rule which thou hast taken on thyself
Toledo ratifies: 'tis meet for Spain,
And as the will divine, to be received,
Observed, and spread abroad. Come hither thou,
Who for thyself hast chosen the good part;
Let me lay hands on thee, and consecrate
Thy life unto the Lord.

Me ! Roderick cried;
Me ? sinner that I am !—and while he spake
His withered cheek grew paler, and his limbs
Shook. As thou goest among the infidels,
Pursued the Primate, many thou wilt find
Fallen from the faith ; by weakness some betrayed,
Some led astray by baser hope of gain,
And haply too by ill example led
Of those in whom they trusted. Yet have these
Their lonely hours, when sorrow, or the touch
Of sickness, and that awful power divine
Which hath its dwelling in the heart of man,
Life of his soul, his monitor and judge,
Move them with silent impulse ; but they look
For help, and finding none to succour them,
The irrevocable moment passeth by.
Therefore, my brother, in the name of Christ
Thus I lay hands on thee, that in His name
Thou with His gracious promises may'st raise
The fallen, and comfort those that are in need,
And bring salvation to the penitent.
Now, brother, go thy way : the peace of God
Be with thee, and his blessing prosper us !" (Vol. I. p. 60, 61.)

In the course of his journey he has an affecting interview with Siverian, his foster-father, who does not discover his royal master, though his voice " disturbed him like a dream." From him Roderick learns that his mother Rusilla still lives, and in conjunction with the Lady Gaudiosa, Pelayo's wife, had sent him

to inform that prince of his sister Guisla's too great inclination to listen to the love of the Moor Numacian. Finding that they were in search of the same person they journeyed on together

“ till they saw
 The temples and the towers of Cordoba
 Shining majestic in the light of eve.
 Before them Betis rolled his glittering stream,
 In many a silvery winding traced afar
 Amid the ample plain. Behind the walls
 And stately piles which crowned its margin, rich
 With olives, and with sunny slope of vines,
 And many a lovely hamlet interspersed,
 Whose citron bowers were once the abode of peace,
 Height above height, receding hills were seen
 Imbued with evening hues; and over all
 The summits of the dark sierra rose,
 Lifting their heads amid the silent sky.” (Vol. I. p. 76.)

Sivarian proposes that they should turn aside to a church, where Roderick had formerly given thanks for his victory over Witiza, of which scene he gives a very animated description, little thinking that he addressed the principal actor in it. Within the church they find Pelayo paying his annual tribute of grief at the tomb of his mother, and deliver their several embassies to him: after which Roderick, nobly subduing all reluctant feelings, hails him Lord and King of Spain, to which rank he had a claim from his mother in the Spanish, and from his father in the Gothic line. Hence it was that he was kept a nightly prisoner in Cordoba, excepting that

“ This night, by special favour from the Moor
 • Asked and vouchsafed, he past without the walls,
 Keeping his yearly vigil; on this night
 Therefore the princely Spaniard could not fly,
 Being thus in strongest bonds by honour held.”
 (Ib. p. 101, 102.)

This was a sufficient reason to account for his return to Cordoba, and therefore the Poet has volunteered a blunder in adding

“ Nor would he by his own escape expose
 To stricter bondage, or belike to death,
 Count Pedro's son.” (Ib. p. 102)

For immediately afterwards we find this son, the young Alphonso, waiting for him at the door of the church, and consequently as ready for flight as himself. On his return to Cordoba, he finds a female supplicant sitting before his gate, who requests a secret

conference, and then discovers herself to him as the daughter of Count Julian.

“ Pelayo stood confused : he had not seen
Count Julian's daughter since in Roderick's court,
Glittering in beauty and in innocence,
A radiant vision, in her joy she moved :
More like a poet's dream, or form divine,
Heaven's prototype of perfect womanhood,
So lovely was the presence,—than a thing
Of earth and perishable elements.” (Vol. I. p. 110.)

The object of her visit is to prevail with him to assist her in escaping from Orpas, the renegade Bishop of Seville, who now claimed the performance of a compact made with her father, in which it was agreed that she should become his wife. Her request is readily granted, and on the following evening they leave the city together in disguise, and are soon joined by Alphonso, with an unexpected companion, for whose appearance with him the youth accounts in this touching way :

“ 'Tis Hoya, servant of my father's house,
Unto whose dutiful care and love, when sent
To this vile bondage, I was given in charge.
How could I look upon my father's face,
If I had in my joy deserted him,
Who was to me found faithful?” (Ib. p. 117.)

Proceeding together,

————— “ soon by devious tracks
They turned aside. The favouring moon arose,
To guide them on their flight through upland paths
Remote from frequentage, and dales retired,
Forest and mountain glen. Before their feet
The fire-flies, swarming in the woodland shade,
Sprung up like sparks, and twinkled round their way :
The timorous blackbird, starting at their step,
Fled from the thicket, with shrill note of fear ;
And far below them in the peopled dell,
When all the soothing sounds of eve had ceased,
The distant watch-dog's voice at times was heard,
Answering the nearer wolf. All through the night
Among the hills they travelled silently ;
Till when the stars were setting, at what hour
The breath of Heaven is coldest, they beheld
Within a lonely grove the expected fire,
Where Roderick and his comrade anxiously
Looked for the appointed meeting. Halting there,
They from the burthen and the bit relieved

The patient bearers, and around the fire
Partook of needful food and grateful rest.

Bright rose the flame replenished ; it illumed
The cork-tree's furrowed rind, its rifts and swells
And redder scars,—and where its aged boughs
O'erbowed the travellers, cast upon the leaves
A floating, grey, unrealizing gleam." (Vol. I. p. 117, 118.)

All the party soon sink to repose, excepting Roderick and Florinda, who, with a convenient shortness of sight and memory, on which we must speak more fully hereafter, do not recognize one another. She, however, reveals herself to him, regarding him as a priestly confessor. No abridgment can do justice to the feeling touches with which the ensuing dialogue is introduced, nor to the ingenuity with which the Poet has contrived, in Florinda's humble and open confession, to wipe off much of the stain upon his hero's character without casting any such shade upon hers, as to lower the interest she must have awakened in the reader's mind. Considerable knowledge of the intricate windings and self-deceiving sophistry of the heart is here displayed, and no unuseful lesson afforded to those, who are not sufficiently aware how rapidly the slope of unguarded affection leads to the dangerous precipices of passion. The dialogue ends in her recalling the curse she had hastily pronounced against him, and joining, at his request, in prayer for herself, her father, and Roderick, who still remains undiscovered.

The travellers pursue their journey on the following day, which lay through a country thus beautifully sketched :

— " The mountain path they chose,
The forest or the lonely heath wide spread,
Where cistus shrubs solc-seen exhaled at noon
Their fine balsamic odour all around ;
Strewed with their blossoms, frail as beautiful,
The thirsty soil at eve ; and when the sun
Relumed the gladdened earth, opening anew
Their stores exuberant, prodigal as frail,
Whitened again the wilderness. They left
The dark sierra's skirts behind, and crost
The wilds where Ana in her native hills
Collects her sister springs, and hurries on
Her course melodious amid loveliest glens,
With forest and with fruitage overbowed.
These scenes profusely blest by Heaven they left,
Where o'er the hazel and the quince the vine
Wide-mantling spreads ; and clinging round the cork
And ilex, hangs amid their dusky leaves

Garlands of brightest huc, with reddening fruit
Pendant, or clusters cool of glassy green."

(Vol. I. p. 135, 136.)

At length they approach Count Pedro's castle, and the feelings and fears awakened in his son Alphonso's bosom are well described. They are alarmed at first by the solitude which they every where find, and the deserted state of its environs thus graphically placed before the reader's eye:

"Is it the spoiler's work? At yonder door
Behold the favourite kidling bleats unheard;
The next stands open, and the sparrows there
Boldly pass in and out. Thither he turned
To seek what indications were within:
The chesnut-bread was on the shelf; the churn,
As if in haste forsaken, full and fresh;
The recent fire had mouldered on the hearth;
And broken cobwebs marked the whiter space
Where from the wall the buckler and the sword
Had late been taken down." (Ib. p. 139.)

On reaching the castle, however, they find Count Pedro's vassals all assembled there, roused by the spirit-stirring voice of Adosinda, as it seems, and the Count himself raising his war-standard, and preparing to lead them against the Moors, in spite of his wife's pathetic appeal on behalf of the son whom she fancies in their power, and the sure victim of his father's rash enterprise. The sudden appearance of that son occasions a joy that may be well imagined. Count Pedro at once forswears the ancient feud, which had existed between his house and that of Pelayo, and proposes with rather a hasty transition of thought, time and circumstances considered, the future espousal of that chieftain's daughter Hermesind to his son, a proposal readily embraced. The rest of the twelfth Canto, containing the ceremony of knighthood conferred on Alphonso in a hasty but most impressive manner, and the vow exacted from him and the assembled people by Roderick, is a fine specimen of that sustained vigour and animation which gives the reader no breathing time, but keeps the gratified attention on the stretch till the subject matter is exhausted. The gradual subsiding of this burst, the shutting in of this busy dramatic scene, is beautifully managed.

"Silently

The people knelt, and when they rose, such awe
Held them in silence, that the eagle's cry,
Who far above them, at her highest flight
A speck scarce visible, wheeled round and round,

Was heard distinctly ; and the mountain stream,
Which from the distant glen sent forth its sound
Wafted upon the wind, was audible
In that deep hush of feeling, like the voice
Of waters in the stillness of the night. (Vol. I. p. 154.)

This silence is suddenly interrupted by the appearance of a troop of Moors, who begin the onset with haughty confidence, but are soon routed, Pedro slaying their leader, and his son gallantly fleshing his maiden sword in their blood.

The patriots, flushed with victory, lose no time in pushing forward to the residence of Pelayo, who is deeply anxious about the fate of his family.

“ And night had closed around, when to the vale
Where Sella in her ampler bed receives
Pionia's stream they came. Massive and black
Pelayo's castle there was seen ; its lines
And battlements against the deep blue sky
Distinct in solid darkness visible.
No light is in the tower.” (Ib. p. 166.)

The Count's apprehensions are, however, soon lessened by the arrival of a joyous band of his own vassals, after effecting a rescue welcome to all but Guisla, who had been “ a willing and concerted prisoner,” and consequently meets her brother with such feelings as we might expect.

‘ But who is she that at her side,
Upon a stately war-horse eminent,
Holds the loose rein with careless hand ? A helm
Presses the clusters of her flaxen hair ;
The shield is on her arm ; her breast is mailed ;
A sword-belt is her girdle, and right well
It may be seen that sword hath done its work
To-day, for upward from the wrist her sleeve
Is stiff with blood. An unregardant eye,
As one whose thoughts were not of earth, she cast
Upon the turmoil round. One countenance
So strongly marked, so passion-worn was there,
That it recalled her mind. Ha ! Maccabee !
Lifting her arm, exultingly she cried,
Did I not tell thee we should meet in joy ?
Well, Brother, hast thou done thy part,—I too
Have not been wanting ! Now be His the praise,
From whom the impulse came !” (Vol. II. p. 7.)

Roderick, the reader's interest for whom is artfully kept alive in every part of the poem, sees his mother in the group which had recently arrived, and is deeply affected by the sight, but not

so far as to betray himself. He even maintains his resolution of concealment through an affecting conversation which he holds with her and Florinda on the following day, and in spite of the trying incident of his being recognised by his favourite dog, an incident which, however good in itself, we think Mr. Southey had better have omitted. It is a chord which has been struck once with such exquisite pathos, that it will not bear repetition. Those who have deeply felt the simple beauty of the original air, cannot brook to hear it with graces and variations.

The 16th Canto describes the solitary expedition of Pelayo to Covadonga, a valley so retired, that Gaudiosa had chosen it as a place of secret refuge for herself and her children, apprehending danger from Guisla's correspondence with the Moors.

“ A happy man he went, his heart at rest,
Of hope and virtue and affection full,
To all exhilarating influences
Of earth and heaven alive. With kindred joy
He heard the lark, who from her airy height,
On twinkling pinions poised, poured forth profuse,
In thrilling sequence of exuberant song,
As one whose joyous nature overflowed
With life and power, her rich and rapturous strain.
The early bee, buzzing along the way,
From flower to flower, bore gladness on her wing
To his rejoicing sense; and he pursued
With quickened eye alert, the frolic hare,
Where from the green herb in her wanton path
She brushed away the dews. For he long time,
Far from his home and from his native hills,
Had dwelt in bondage; and the mountain breeze,
Which he had with the breath of infancy
Inhaled, such impulse to his heart restored,
As if the seasons had rolled back, and life
Enjoyed a second spring.” (Vol. II. p. 22, 23.)

The succeeding descriptions of rural and mountain scenery are exquisite, and dead must that heart be to the soft and warmer charities of life, which does not thrill to the bugle-note that makes young Favila start in the cave, and cry

“ My Father's horn !”

or fails to contemplate with deep delight the scene of family love which follows. We dare not trust ourselves with making any quotation from this beautiful Canto: we should not know where to stop.

We now return to Roderick, who holds a dialogue with Sive-rian, which serves indeed to set his self-controul and fixedness

of resolution in a strong point of view, but might better have been spared perhaps on the whole, since, without furthering the plot at all, it lessens its probability by adding to the marvel of Roderick's remaining unknown. He is next seen taking a leading part in the ceremony of acclamation, which assigns the sceptre of Spain to Pelayo, and consequently cuts off all prospect of his own return to power. Having made this sacrifice he feels secure of his mother's blessing, and hastens to obtain it. She welcomes him with open arms, and says, that from the moment when the dog had recognised him, she also had known her son, but had (with almost incredible self-command) "restrained,"

"Her heart, and yielded to his holier will
The thoughts, which rose to tempt a soul not yet
Wean'd wholly from the world." (Vol. II. p. 69.)

Thoughts, she means, of his restoration, of which he speaks thus:

————— "But the hour,
When in its second best nativity,
My soul was born again through grace, this heart
Died to the world. Dreams such as thine pass now
Like evening clouds before me; if I think
How beautiful they seem, 'tis but to feel
How soon they fade, how fast the night shuts in.
But in that world to which my hopes look on,
Time enters not, nor Mutability;
Beauty and Goodness are unfading there:
Whatever there is given us to enjoy,
That we enjoy for ever, still the same—" (Ib. p. 72.)

This affecting interview closes with his receiving the blessing that he sought.

The Moors now advance in full force, to quell this rebellion, under their leader Abulcacem, in whose breast the renegade Orpas tries to instil a suspicion of Count Julian's fidelity to the cause. The report that his daughter is with Pelayo's army gives, strength to the surmise, but, upon its being announced, he boldly confronts Orpas, and after craving successfully of Abulcacem a release from his compact to bestow his daughter upon him in marriage, he sends a messenger to inform her of this, and to entreat her to return to him, in terms so moving, that we must add this to our numerous extracts.

————— "Tell her that her father says
His days are numbered, and beseeches her
By that dear love, which from her infancy
Still he hath borne her, growing as she grew,
Nursed in our weal, and strengthened in our woe,
She will not in the evening of his life,

Leave him forsaken and alone. Enough
 Of sorrow, tell her, have her injuries
 Brought on her father's head; let not her act
 Thus aggravate the burden. Tell her too,
 That when he prayed her to return, he wept
 Profusely as a child; but bitterer tears
 Than ever fell from childhood's eyes, were those
 Which traced his hardy cheeks.

• With faltering voice
 He spake, and after he had ceased from speech
 His lip was quivering still." (Vol. II. p. 86, 87.)

The 21st Canto, which is entitled "the Fountain in the Forest," is the most interesting in the whole poem. In its opening the fountain is thus admirably described:

"An arrow's flight above that mountain stream
 There was a little glade, where underneath
 A long smooth mossy stone a fountain rose.
 An oak grew near, and with its ample boughs
 O'er-canopied the spring; its fretted roots
 Embossed the bank, and on their tufted bark
 Grew plants which love the moisture and the shade—
 Short ferns, and longer leaves of wrinkled green
 Which bent toward the spring, and when the wind
 Made itself felt, just touched with gentle dip
 The glassy surface, ruffled ne'er but then,
 Save when a bubble rising from the depth
 Burst, and with faintest circles marked its place,
 Or if an insect skimmed it with its wing,
 Or when in heavier drops the gathered rain
 Fell from the oak's high bower. The mountain roe,
 When, having drank there, he would bound across,
 Drew up upon the bank his meeting feet,
 And put forth half his force. With silent lapse
 From thence through mossy banks the water stole,
 Then murmuring hastened to the glen below."

(Ib. p. 90, 91.)

We break off here, though the Poet has added another sentence, because we do not like to dissolve the charm of this exquisite sketch from Nature by the introduction of so questionable a personage as Diana. In this fountain, which was near his tent, Count Julian had just performed his evening ablution, when his daughter arrives in ready obedience to his message.

"My blessing be upon thy head, he cried,
 A father's blessing! Though all faiths were false,
 It should not lose its worth!—She locked her hands
 Around his neck, and gazing in his face
 Through streaming tears, exclaimed, Oh never more,

- . Here or hereafter, never let us part !
 And breathing then a prayer in silence forth,
 The name of Jesus trembled on 'er tongue." (Vol. II. p. 92.)

He starts at seeing her accompanied by a priest, but is conciliated in some measure by hearing how readily Roderick, for he it is who accompanies her, had approved of Florinda's return to him, and still more by his frank and moderate language. In the ensuing dialogue the wavering faith of Julian, who is evidently a Mussulman only from convenience, the zealous anxiety of his daughter to win him to Christianity, and the combination of wisdom, energy, and feeling in Roderick's character are portrayed with the hand of a master. We must content ourselves with one short extract, in which Florinda is the speaker.

. " Methinks if ye would know
 How visitations of calamity
 Affect the pious soul, 'tis shown you there !
 Look yonder at that cloud, which through the sky
 Sailing alone, doth cross in her career
 The rolling moon ! I watched it as it came,
 And deemed the deep opake would blot her beams ;
 But, melting like a wreath of snow, it hangs
 In folds of wavy silver round ; and cloths
 The orb with richer beauties than her own,
 Then passing, leaves her in her light serene."
 (Ib. p. 108, 109.)

Count Julian is suddenly summoned to a council called in consequence of the news, that Abdalaziz, the Moorish commander in chief, and Egilona, who had become his wife since the supposed death of Roderick her first husband, had been put to death at Cordoba by their own troops, in consequence of his assuming the ensigns of royalty at her instigation. After some debate, it is decided that the present enterprise should claim their first attention, in consequence of their hearing from Orpas that Guisla had offered to guide them to the hiding-place of Pelayo's family. Thither a large part of the Moorish force marches under her guidance, but ample preparation had been made for their reception ; the heights on each side of the glen being lined with troops ready armed with loosened rocks, and trees to crush them when all had entered the defile. The description of this scene is highly animated, and the high-spirited Adosinda is introduced as a leading feature in it with great effect. The certainty of success on the part of the Moors, which the Poet has finely marked by the scoffs in some of their mouths, gives additional effect to the complete overthrow which they sustain.

The 21th Canto records the assassination of Count-Julian, concerted by Orpas and Abulcacem. Florinda survives him but a few moments, her exhausted frame giving way to the rush of strong emotions; but she dies in tranquillity in having heard him, with his last breath, abjure Mahometanism, cast himself at the feet of his Saviour, and declare his forgiveness of Roderick. His men instantly revolt from the Moorish standard. Orpas is seen approaching to dissuade them, but Roderick seeing him mounted on his own favourite battle-horse, goes to meet him, and Orelia

“To that remember’d voice, and arm of power
Obedient,”

rears till his rider falls backward, and then tramples out his recreant life. We do not think that the manner of this execution quite tallies with Roderick’s subdued temper and Christianized feelings; but we go on with much pleasure to his truly natural address to his steed when he had himself mounted it.

“My horse!
My noble horse! he cried, with flattering hand
Pattin’ his high-arched neck; the renegade,
I thank him for’t, hath kept thee daintily!
Orelia, thou art in thy beauty still,
Thy pride and strength! Orelia, my good horse,
Once more thou bearest to the field thy Lord,
He who so oft hath fed and cherished thee,
He for whose sake, wherever thou wert seen,
Thou wert by all men honoured. Once again
Thou hast thy proper master! Do thy part
As thou wert wont; and bear him gloriously,
My beautiful Orelia,—to the last—
The happiest of his fields!—” (Vol. II. p. 153, 154.)

The action soon commences, and the reader accompanies him, with breathless admiration, through a battle described with all the rapid vigour and crowded incident appropriate to such a scene. Ebban and Sisibert, the apostate sons of Witiza, fall by his hand. In the midst of the fight Pelayo approaches with the division of the force which had been engaged in the destruction of the enemy at Covadonga. Roderick goes to meet him, and is at length recognised by him and Siverian. There is a deficiency of pathos, we think, in the description of this incident.

Roderick soon rushes again into the thickest of the fight, and the circumstance of his being so carried away by the feeling of the moment, by that hurry of spirits which we believe to be incident to such a situation, as to give out his old war-cry

“Roderick the Goth, Roderick and Victory!”

is finely conceived. It is re-echoed with enthusiasm by the

same men, who but a day before would have coupled that name with cursing, and thus, by marking the re-establishment of his good fame, makes this victory an epoch in his life sufficiently remarkable to afford a good close to the Poem: for such we may reckon it, though the Poet has allowed us a faint glimpse of his subsequent history in the concluding lines:

“Days, months, and years, and generations pass'd,
And centuries held their course, before, far off
Within a hermitage near Visen's walls
A humble tomb was found, which bore inscribed
In ancient characters King Roderick's name.”

(Vol. II. p. 171.)

If the analysis of this poem has appeared rather long, be it remembered that the poem itself is of no common grasp, “*Ὁμιον βροτοῖς ἔστιν*,” as it consists of twenty-five cantos. We have unwillingly withheld our hand from many tempting extracts, but trust that very few of our readers will, by neglecting the original, suffer this to be to their loss. We must hasten to conclude this article with a few remarks.

The plot naturally claims our first notice, and we think that in this Mr. Southey has been very successful. It is highly dramatic, and affords scope for much play both of passion and feeling, though the latter predominates. Its materials are of heroic caliber, sufficiently dignified for the epic tone, yet blended with those topics to which a chord vibrates in every heart, and to relish which the common feelings of our nature are the only requisite qualification. Its incidents too are interwoven with much ingenuity, and considerable skill is displayed in bringing about meetings with apparent ease which seemed very unlikely to take place; such, for instance, as that between Roderick, Florinda, and Julian. One fault, however, the poem has in this department, and that one of no small importance. It is a bold infringement of Horace's veto,

‘Ne, quodcumque volet, poscat sibi fabula credi.’

The poet, no doubt, has, by ancient right and charter, a wider range of assertion than any other man, excepting the sailor; nor has the privilege ever been forfeited by disuse. But yet there are certain limits which he must not transgress, if he would maintain that illusion so favourable, or rather so necessary to his empire over the feelings. And more especially where, as in the present instance, he has of his own accord straitened those limits in some degree by grounding his fiction on a portion of real history, and disdaining the aid of the machinery employed by other poets,

and by himself indeed in other cases, as a convenient resort, where the trifling hinderance of an impossibility was to be surmounted. Homer, who cannot be accused of timidity in fiction, but who, like his own hero, took care “*Ψευδεα πολλὰ λεγών*,” that they should be “*ἐτυμοῖσιν ὁμοῖα*,” did not trust for the concealment of that hero to *twenty years* of absence, and nearly incessant hardships. When he returns to his native country, the powerful wand of Minerva is employed to disguise him effectually, and screen him from discovery. Mr. Southey, with a bolder daring, supposes Roderick so metamorphosed by grief in considerably less than half that time, as to escape the penetrating glance of the fondest and most deeply-rooted attachment. His victory over Witiza had taken place but ten years before his foster-father details to him, as to a stranger, the subsequent triumph; and some years must have elapsed between that victory and his defeat by the Moors. We confess therefore that, in spite of our wish to give the imagination its fullest scope, and to go to the utmost verge of poetic credence, this gross improbability has met us at every turn in this poem with a broad glare of fiction, which has considerably lessened its hold upon the fancy.

But if we turn from the plot to the manners and sentiments of the poem, with much to praise, we have to lament one striking inconsistency in its tone, to which we have already alluded; it is the totally unqualified expression of a deeply vindictive spirit. It must be admitted, that the circumstances of the plot made it necessary to exhibit the workings of such a spirit to a certain degree, in order to be true to nature: but the fault lies in the apparent zest and relish with which this is done. Instead of being cast into the shade, as a necessary but unwelcome blemish in the picture, it is forced upon the eye both by prominence of situation and strength of colouring.

“And pray’d the while for patience for himself
And him, and prayed for vengeance too, and found
Best comfort in her curses.” (Vol. I. p. 24.)

————— “Go, join Witiza now,
Where he lies howling, the avenger cried,
And tell him, Roderick sent thee.” (Vol. II. p. 153.)

No one could have objected to these and similar expressions, had they been attributed to appropriate characters, had Witiza and Orpas been represented as nourishing these remorseless feelings, instead of exciting them in the breasts of Rusilla and Roderick. But as it is, and especially in the latter case, they are grating to the ear, from their evident inconsistency with those high principles, the operation of which on the mind of the penitent

King forms the characteristic feature, and leading interest of the poem. With this exception, Mr. Southey has succeeded in giving a beautiful and useful display of the powerful efficacy of those principles. We have heard some of his readers carp at the frequent reference that is made to them; but this, we think, is owing partly to their overlooking this intention in the author, and partly to the same baneful squeamishness, and extravagant fear of being deemed puritanical, which has unnerved and impoverished the style of our theology, and weeded our colloquial vocabulary at the expense of some of its fairest flowers. There is a medium between the adoption of a cant phraseology, and the studied rejection of all reference to what ought to be always uppermost in our minds. If, as we have the best reason to suppose, the prevailing tone of our conversation is to be regarded as a fair sample of "the abundance of our hearts," the inference to be drawn from the general tone of our social intercourse is by no means a favourable one. Did Mr. Southey's poem afford any instances of a levity of association in this respect, we should be amongst the first to reprobate such an abuse; but, as it is, we think that so far from deserving censure, his introduction of the rich vein of pure and golden ore, which may be traced from the beginning to the end of his work, is worthy of praise and imitation.

The extracts which we have made from the poem will convey a pretty clear notion of its language and versification, the flow of which might with advantage have been more varied, but is as easy as was consistent with a due degree of sonorous dignity, which is successfully maintained throughout. We should not think it worth while to pick out the scattered passages which lie open to criticism, but for the hope that, should our observations chance to meet the author's eye, they may help, in however trifling a degree, to give a higher polish to future editions of his work. There is something rather Della-cruscan in these lines:

"Nay, quoth Pelayo; what hast thou to do
With oaths? *Bright emanation* as thou art."

(Vol. I. p. 107.)

The fourth sentence in the tenth Canto, beginning with "eagerly at every foot-fall," is imperfect in its construction, a repetition of the nominative case being necessary before the verb "obeyed."

There is rather too strong a family likeness between the closing lines of the twelfth Canto, and these lines in the eighteenth.

—————"The passing air
Bore with it from the woodland undisturb'd
The ringdove's wooing, and the quiet voice
Of waters warbling near." (Vol. II. p. 60.)

The following lines and expressions occur to us as open to criticism :

“ Each strengthening each, and all confirming all.”

“ With the venerable primate took his part.”

— “ only thought of how to make.”

“ The armour which in Wamba's wars I wore.”

“ Cold accoil;” “ commensurable strength;” “ mouldering fires;” remote from frequentage;” “ an auriphrygiate mitre.”

We cannot conclude without entering a strong protest against the modern fashion of encumbering a poem with a body of notes, swelled by quotations, which nobody reads, and every body must pay for. It is a heavy tax on the reading part of the community, and we doubt whether it is one which answers in the end even to those who impose it, since it must raise the price of the article so encumbered above the limit, by which a large class of purchasers think it right to bound their literary indulgences.

ART. XIV.—Αἰσχύλου Προμηθεὺς Δεσμωτής. *Æschyli Prometheus Vinculus. Ad Fidem Manuscriptorum emendavit, Notas et Glossarium adjecit Carolus Jacobus Blomfield, A. M. Collegii SS. Trinitatis apud Cantabrigienses nuper Socius. Editio Secunda. 8vo. Londini, Mawman; Cantabrigiæ, Deighton 1812.*

Αἰσχύλου Ἑπτὰ ἐπὶ Θήεας. *Æschyli Septem contra Thebas. Ad Fidem Manuscriptorum emendavit, Notas et Glossarium adjecit Carolus Jacobus Blomfield, A. M. 8vo. Cantabrigiæ, 1812.*

Αἰσχύλου Περσῆαι. *Æschyli Persæ. Ad Fidem Manuscriptorum emendavit, Notas et Glossarium adjecit Carolus Jacobus Blomfield, A. M. 8vo. Cantabrigiæ, 1814.*

IT is unnecessary to remind our readers of the eminent services conferred by the late Professor Porson on Grecian literature, and of the great loss which the lovers of the ancient classics have sustained by his death. He had accomplished but a small proportion of his edition of Euripides; enough, however, to raise high expectations of his future labours, and to excite a deep regret that those labours were so prematurely terminated. He was the founder of a school in criticism; and in this view the beneficial influence of his example and authority will long sur-

vive him. He banished entirely from the field which he occupied, the dull prosings, the conjectural speculations, and the ingenious triflings of commentators, who were accustomed to think their own lucubrations more interesting than the authors they professed to elucidate, and who not unfrequently rewarded the patience of their readers, by leading them through circuitous passages into final error and confusion.

In the task of editing Euripides, Mr. Porson has been succeeded by Mr. Monk, who succeeded him likewise in the office of Greek Professor, and whose *Hippolytus* we have already noticed.—Æschylus has also fallen into the hands of two scholars of no mean celebrity: Dr. Butler of Shrewsbury has nearly completed an extensive variorum edition; and Mr. Blomfield, who is evidently a disciple of the Porsonian school, has published the first three plays, and is in progress with the remainder. His first edition of the *Prometheus* appeared in 1810, and was, we believe, the first book printed with the beautiful Greek types cast under Professor Porson's own inspection. The text generally received as the groundwork of this and the other tragedies was that of the Glasgow edition of 1806, which, our readers are aware, was prepared by Porson, though it was printed clandestinely without his name, and without his consent. The accompanying notes are on the plan adopted by the Professor himself in his four plays of Euripides, very short and chiefly employed in stating the various readings, or the grounds of the alterations received. They are "enriched," as Mr. Blomfield says, with several copied from the manuscripts of Porson, which are printed in italics, and distinguished with his initials, R. P. that they may be the more easily recognized, amidst the baser matter of ordinary notes. To us, however, we must confess, these MS. notes of Porson appear somewhat jejune and unimportant, very necessary to be preserved, no doubt, for the satisfaction of the scrupulous idolaters of his great name, but constituting a very small proportion indeed of the merits of the present edition, as they are principally occupied in pointing out the citations of different passages by later writers.—The printed text of the play is followed by a Glossary, exhibiting a collected and well-arranged view of the interpretations given by different grammarians of all the words requiring explanation. This Glossary is an improvement upon Porson's plan, and is calculated to answer all the purposes of a philological commentary.

In 1812 was published a second edition of the *Prometheus*; and then was supplied, what was obviously needed, an Index to the Glossary, containing a reference to all the words and phrases explained. About the same time also the *Septem contra Thebas*

appeared, published on exactly the same plan with the improved edition of the *Prometheus*. The *Persæ*, the last play yet published, appeared about the end of 1814. We are waiting in anxious expectation for the remaining dramas of the great Father of Greek tragedy; but in the meantime we shall call the attention of our readers to those already before us.

We consider the proper ultimate end of all the labour, and learning, and investigation employed in the publication of classical authors to be, to render the treasures they contain more easy of access. There must necessarily be much difficulty and abstruseness in the intermediate steps, much research into manuscripts scarcely legible, much patient toil in comparing the established usages of speech, much labour in reducing them, as far as may be, to simplified rules, and still more in eliciting a clear and intelligible text from the jargon of various readings, and the accumulated blunders of successive editors. But all this is to be done not for any inherent interest or value attached to such labours, but that many may be made wise by the diligence of a few; that ordinary readers may share in the enjoyment produced by the final result; that taste may be assisted by the researches of criticism; and that the treasures of ancient genius may be thrown open to a more enlarged circle of inquirers by an easy and pleasant approach.

For the satisfaction of those who are competent to investigate the point, it is obvious that as there must exist a reason why one reading is right and another wrong, that reason ought to be laid before them. But still an editor's notes should be simple and concise in giving this reason, and detached from all extraneous matter; that the mere reader of taste, with his mind on fire, may not be hampered with investigations belonging only to the critic, and puzzled with conscientious scruples about $\delta\epsilon$ and $\gamma\epsilon$, when he looks only for the light of explanation to help him to follow with certainty the march of original genius. The demands of taste have been far too little attended to in the publication of those works, which spread before it the most inspiring enjoyments. Though we need not at every step be reminded in the language of common-place that this is beautiful—that this is sublime; we should be interrupted as little as possible when we are saying all this to ourselves. We require that the collation of MSS. and the promulgation of rules, should not be regarded as the ultimate end of commenting, but as means employed in subservience to the great object of enlightening the understanding, and impressing the heart. As we advance towards the perfection of the building, we expect to see the superfluous scaffolding removed: and we would in like manner remove the accumulated

lumber of critical notes, when they are no longer necessary; or at least reduce them to the smallest compass consistent with the reader's information. The excellence of a verbal commentator is to communicate his own learning in the shortest way, to make his readers wise at the cheapest rate, and to give the most of his author with the least of himself.

In the manner of writing *critical* notes, we think Professor Porson very nearly reached perfection. His notes on Euripides are what they professed to be,—“breves notæ emendationum potissimum rationes reddentes.” We venture even to think that it would have been better, had his *notes* been confined entirely to this object, and had all that useful information, which he has communicated to his readers in a scattered form, been served up together in a separate course. This is, in fact, what Mr. Blomfield has done. The plan is excellent; and if we complain at all of the manner in which he has executed it, it will be chiefly that his Glossary is in some instances more diffuse than it need have been. Instead of presenting us so fully as he has done with the interpretations given by different scholiasts and lexicographers, we think it would have been better if he had digested the whole, and given us at once an unperplexed and unembarrassed view of the force and bearing of the word in question.

Mr. Blomfield's reputation as a scholar is deservedly very high; and we may congratulate all who feel any interest in ancient learning, that he has applied his attainments with praiseworthy diligence to the great work of editing *Æschylus*, in a form best calculated to make him understood and valued. It was obviously a work of extraordinary labour. He had to contend with the natural difficulties of a very obscure author, rendered more obscure by a very corrupt text. Stanley, indeed, had not laboured in vain. Uniting taste with learning in a singular degree, he had by his discursive notes led the way to closer criticism. But as he was the first who did much for *Æschylus*, he left much to be done by his successors. What he left undone, his successors before Mr. Blomfield had ill supplied. To Schutz we have few obligations; and Porson pointed out what was wrong without attempting to supply what was right. *Æschylus* therefore came into Mr. Blomfield's hands with all the unredeemed deformities of many generations; for of Dr. Butler we purposely omit to say any thing, because it was his professed object to preserve all the deformities of text which had been transmitted by Stanley.

The text, then, as Mr. Blomfield found it, was in many parts entirely corrupt. The more corrupt plays he has not yet touched; but the clearest and most easy abounded with difficulty. In arranging the text of the choral parts, he has in general followed

Dr. Burney, with whose learned work on the metres of Æschylus our readers are probably acquainted. In the iambics this assistance was wanting: and in addition to the difficulty of settling the true text, there was a farther difficulty in understanding it, which Mr. Blomfield has well and modestly explained in his Preface to the *Prometheus*. “Quicquid in Æschylo salebrosum est, id omne ferè oritur ex lingue insolentiâ, non autem ex perplexâ verborum constructione, aut ex reconditis sentiis. Multa enim apud eum reperiuntur vocabula ex ultimâ antiquitate repetita, multæque dictiones ac formulæ loquendi, quas frustra alibi quaeras, et quarum in lexicis vulgaribus aut nulla mentio fit, aut jejuna saltem atque exilis. Mihi igitur visus sum gratiam cum tironibus initurus, si opus susciperem, molestius illud quidem, et *non tam artis indigens quam laboris*, perquam tamen utile adolescentibus futurum; nempe si singularum in Æschylo vocum interpretationes contexerem, glossasque ad eum pertinentes, per grammaticorum scholia et lexica hic illic sparsas, colligerem et concinnarem.”—(*Pref. ad Prom.* pp. i. ii.)

The labours, however, attached to such a task is not a thankless labour. We know no author more capable than Æschylus of repaying the toil of critical research. No poet, except Shakspeare himself, is a mightier master in the art of suspending the soul in terror, and making his readers hang with breathless attention upon the magic horror of the scene; and we can easily conceive that Mr. Blomfield has found the reward of his patience in disentangling the knotty intricacy of words and sentences, and in pausing to contemplate the collected beauty and overwhelming grandeur of some of the richest parts of the *Prometheus* and *Cassandra* of his author. If Æschylus is inferior to Sophocles and Euripides in the art and conduct of the drama, in all the essential points of original genius, in force, imagination, and invention, in magnificence of diction and pomp of fable, and, above all, in the power of chaining attention, he is, in our judgment, superior to both his rivals. In the whole compass of ancient tragedy, we doubt whether there is any thing that is worthy to be compared with his *Agamemnon*.

Trusting these general remarks will not be considered as out of place by those who regard the true end and the legitimate object of the re-publication of all ancient authors, we will proceed to a particular examination of the three plays before us, beginning with the *Prometheus*, which is certainly the easiest, and perhaps the least corrupt, of all our author's tragedies. The character of Prometheus, half a man and half a god, is just suited to the bold genius of Æschylus. There is a magnificence in the conception of such a being, rebelling against the usurped power of a tyrannical thunderer, and undergoing a dreadful punishment

for having dared to be the benefactor of man. Æschylus has exhibited him in all his appropriate terrors, and the character throughout is supported with a consistent majesty. He has contrived with exquisite skill to interest the feelings of humanity in the sufferings of this super-human being; and he has so diversified his simple drama with the introduction of other personages, as to perpetuate the interest. The sullen silence Prometheus maintains during the operation of chaining him to the rock is conceived with great judgment, and well calculated to suspend in anxious wonder the reader's attention; while the proud dignity with which at length he pours forth his indignant feelings, and which is well supported to the end of the play, heightens our awe of the character, and leaves us nothing to desire of majestic diction, daring sentiment, and magnificent effect.

In preparing this noble Tragedy for the public eye, Mr. Blomfield has spared no pains and diligence. He has selected his readings from manuscripts abundantly numerous, which had been already made use of by former editors; and he professes to have himself accurately collated the editions of Aldus, Robortello, and Turnébe. We cannot bring our judgment to approve of some of the readings collected from these various sources; and are rather disposed to commend the caution and diffidence with which the editor deviates from the received text. It is generally the safer practice in editing to explain the old reading than to introduce a new one; though the latter may be sometimes the more easy task, and more flattering to our vanity.

In V. 2. we are bold enough to prefer the old reading ἄβατον, which is countenanced by all the MSS. and editions, to ἄβροτον, which Mr. Blomfield has adopted in compliance with the judgment of Porson. If there were MS. authority for ἄβροτον; we should not object to receiving it; but since ἄβατον makes good sense, and is used by the tragedians, we cannot consent to alter it merely because another word is thought to give a better. Dr. Butler, in his edition, defends the old reading.

V. 3. Mr. Blomfield, in his Glossary, has rightly explained μέλειν, *curae esse*, which Schutz had rendered *cui curae*. There are four forms of this verb used by Attic writers: τότε μέλει μοι, as in the line before us; μέλει μοι τούδε, as in ver. 974 of this play, ἐμοὶ Ζηνὸς μέλει, μέλομαι ἐγὼ τούδε, as in Heracl. 355. σὺ πλέον οὐ μέλονται; and μέλομαι ἐγὼ τῶδε, as in Hippol. 60 ἃ μελόμεσθα. In each case the sense is sufficiently obvious.

V. 5. We strongly incline towards Mr. Blomfield's interpretation of λωργός, *fuinorosus*; but he should have shewn us by what process it acquired that signification. That it is the right,

the passage from Xenophon sufficiently proves. On the other hand, the interpretation given by the scholiasts, and adopted by Stanley (*populificus*), is very clear in its derivation, but not so much so in its meaning.

V. 16. Σχέθω is well explained as a present tense formed from σχῶ, in the same manner as φλεγέθω from φλέγω.

V. 17. Here the MSS. and editions with one consent read ἐξωριάζειν, which makes a clear sense, and against which the only objection is that it does not occur elsewhere,—an objection that is surely not of much force in Æschylus. Porson preferred εὐωριάζειν, and the present editor adopts it. We are not satisfied with the change. There is a degree of ironical signification in εὐωριάζειν which does not seem to be quite in place; and the former reading signifies literally what the present is made to signify, κατὰ ἀντίφρασιν.

V. 20. “Πάγος, *Collis*. Ab antiquo πάγω, *pango*, quia in locis editoribus casas primævi pangere solebant, unde in vetustiore linguâ πάγος idem erat quod Latine *pagus*; cujus prima producit, utpote quod ab Æolico πάγω v. πήγω fluxerit: πάγος vero primam corripit, quia recentiores ab aoristo verbi πήγνυμι pro more suo efformabant.” This derivation is adopted from the *Etymologus Magnus*.

V. 41. οἶόν τε πῶς. We wish Mr. Blomfield had thought proper to give some elucidation of this phrase; which is indeed sufficiently common, but certainly is not commonly understood. How happens it, that οἶον, invariably connected with τε, has the force of δυνατόν? If, as lexicographers say, the particle τε is redundant,—of the reason for which, however, we are by no means satisfied,—then the construction is, οὐκ οἷός εἰμι ποιεῖν—I am not *such an one* as to do. And this explanation is countenanced by the similar usage of τε in the word ὥστε, which is likewise followed by an infinitive mood.

V. 48. ὥφελεν. Here too, we think, a little illustration would not have been out of place, as Mr. Blomfield is professedly labouring for the young. Every one knows that this word is an expression of a wish; but the reason why is not so obvious. ‘However, I wish it had fallen to the lot of some one else.’ Literally, ‘some one else *ought* to have had it.’ This kind of expression is preserved in the English language; and something very similar to it occurs in Shakspeare, (*Macbeth*, Act 5. Sc. 5.) “She *should* have died hereafter,” *i. e.* She ought to have died, or, oh that she had. The corresponding use of *debuisset* in the Latin is well known.

V. 49. ἅπαντ’ ἐπράχθη πλὴν θεοῖσι κοίρανείν. Mr. Blomfield suspects an error in this line, and appears to hesitate between ἐπράχθη, the

reading of the MSS. and ἐπρώθη, the correction of Abresch. We see no objection to ἐπράχθη, which is sufficiently clear in the indefinite sense, and may be rendered without violence, 'All things are possible to the gods—or, are in the habit of being done.'

V. 51. ἔγνωκα, τοῖσδε καὶδὲν—is evidently wrong; and Mr. Blomfield corrects it, καὶ τοῖσδ' οὐδέν. This is one of those corrections which are entitled to unqualified praise, because, even if it happen to be wrong, there is nothing lost by it. The same words remain in the text, and the careless transposition of καὶ may be supposed to have arisen from the proximity of κα in ἔγνωκα. This is one of the most common principles on which Porson acted in the alteration of the common reading; and no man was better acquainted than he with the errors of MSS. and the blunders of copyists.

V. 53. ἐλινύοντα. In Mr. Blomfield's Glossary there is a learned disquisition on the orthography of this word, which in all the editions before Brunck's had been written with the double ν, ἐλινύοντα. We do not believe the assertion of Toup in Suid. that the latter was the poetical form, and the former the prosaic. Mr. Blomfield sets aside this notion, and adopts the usage of the single ν, not only in this but in similar words, as Ἐρινός, &c.

V. 56. "Ραιστήρ, *Malleus*, a ραίω, ferio." This derivation we believe to be correct; and from analogy we conclude, that Casaubon is right in deriving ἐμπαιστικός (κατὰ τὴν ἐμπαιστικὴν τέχνην) from ἐμπαίειν. "Fabrilis artis," he says, "verbum est ἐμπαίειν." Animadv. in Athen. p. 811. On this Porson remarks in his *Adversaria*, p. 129, "Male: est ἐμπαίζειν; unde "illusas auro vestes" dixit Virgilius Georg. II. 464." Now, we cannot help thinking that there is something fanciful in this derivation, and we are not at all convinced by the accidental coincidence pointed out in Virgil. *Illusas* is a very expressive and beautiful poetical word; but we question greatly whether the same *image* would have been preserved if the same idea had been expressed in prose. We must not conceal, however, that Porson's derivation is somewhat countenanced by the Venetian scholiast on Homer, II. Σ. 477, who deduces ραιστήρ "παρὰ τὸ ραίζειν, ὃ ἔστιν ἐνεργεῖν." Though this does not stagger us, because we know nothing of this word ραίζειν in the sense of ἐνεργεῖν; and it seems to us that Casaubon's derivation of ἐμπαιστικός, and Mr. Blomfield's of ραιστήρ, mutually illustrate and support each other.

In V. 62, Mr. Blomfield should have observed, that the right construction is, μάθῃ ὡν σοφιστής—that he may know himself to be a schemer inferior to Jupiter.

V. 70. There is a strange confusion in the Glossary on this line. In the passage quoted from Hesychius, κῦρον has nothing to do

with the adjective *κῦρος*, *confirmans*, (if such an adjective exist,) but is evidently the participle from *κύρω*.

V. 76. Mr. Blomfield's judgment is not always happy in choosing between two uncertainties. He explains *διατόρους* in a passive sense, as *διατετορνευμέας*. Surely it is active, and signifies *piercing through*; in which interpretation it is not necessary to understand literally nails driven through the feet, but fetters piercing them with agony.

V. 83. The discussion on the orthography of *προστίθαι* should have been transferred from the Glossary to the notes. We see no reason for adopting the form proposed by the Etymologus Magnus,—*προστίθη*.

V. 88, et seq. In the midst of critical discussion we are willing to refresh our readers with some better matter, by calling their attention to the grand opening of the character of Prometheus.

“ὦ δῖος αἰθήρ, καὶ ταχύπτεροι πνοαί,
ποταμῶν τε πηγαί, ποντίων τε κυμάτων
ἀνήριθμον γέλασμα, παμμῆτόρ τε γῆ,
καὶ τὸν πανόπτην κύκλον ἡλίου καλῶ
ἰδεσθὲ μ’ οἷα πρὸς θεῶν πάσχω θεός.”

In this passage the expression, *ποντίων κυμάτων ἀνήριθμον γέλασμα*, was far too beautiful to escape altogether the attack of tasteless criticism: and Toup would substitute *κάχλασμα* for *γέλασμα*,—“*infelici conjecturâ*,” as Mr. Blomfield says. Mr. Blomfield's better judgment preserves the right reading, which he well explains as the “*lenis fluctuum agitatio, quæ ab Homero φρεῖς vocatur*.” He has very fully illustrated the expression by apposite references to ancient and modern authors; and it may be remarked of all the passages, that they are far inferior in beautiful simplicity to this of Æschylus. To the authors quoted may be added likewise a similar passage from Walter Scott's *Lord of the Isles*:

“With fluttering sound, like laughter hoarse,
The cords and canvas strain;
The waves, divided by her force,
In rippling eddies chased her course,
As if they laugh'd again.”

Who, that has ever looked abroad upon the boundless expanse of ocean, does not understand, though he cannot translate, the *ἀνήριθμον γέλασμα* of Æschylus?

V. 91. We believe that Mr. Blomfield is too general in asserting that *κύκλος* “*interdum ponitur simpliciter pro ἡλιος*.” Certainly, the two passages adduced do not bear him out in the

assertion; for in the former the sun is called not ὁ κύκλος, but ὁ ἄνω ἥλιος; and in the latter, ὃ τὰ παντ' ἰδόντες (Mr. Blomfield quotes it πάνθ' ὀρῶντες) ἀμφ' ἐμοὶ κύκλοι, the word has certainly nothing to do with the sun: Brunck explains it of the stars; but in spite of his confidence we are bold enough to think that Philoctetes is there addressing his own eyes.

V. 113. Mr. Blomfield's text reads ὑπαίθριος, but in his Glossary he explains it as if it were ὑπαίθριος, and to be construed with δεσμοῖσι. Is this merely an oversight?

V. 116. θεόστυτος. So Mr. Blomfield writes the word in compliance with the judgment of Porson and Dr. Burney. As θεόστυτος is the reading of the MSS. and as the proposed change very much mars the harmony of the verse by making it what Dr. Burney calls an antispastic trimeter instead of an iambic senarius, we cannot help wishing the old reading had been retained. It is true, θεόστυτον occurs in the iambs of this play with the double σ; but we do not see why this word should not follow the same rule of composition as κραιπνόστυτος, αὐτόστυτος, &c. and it will be remembered that in v. 287 we must necessarily read κραιπνόστυτον. Dr. Bentley, to whom we are indebted for this most certain correction, says that "the poets use either the single or double consonant, as their measures require." Dissertation upon Phalaris, p. 140.

In the same line we have no hesitation in agreeing with the scholiast to understand κεκραμένη as applied to the mixed nature of those who were neither gods nor men,—ἡρωϊκὸν σive ἡμιθέων, and not to the mixed *company* of gods and men together.

V. 122. In his former edition Mr. Blomfield had preserved the Ionic form εἰσοιχνεῦσιν. But it now appears that this was the effect of carelessness, not of design; and in the second edition he has changed it to εἰσοιχνοῦσιν. "Ubique enim," he says in his note, "formas Ionicas exauctoratas velim." We have serious doubts on the propriety of the change. We love the garb of antiquity in which Æschylus frequently clothes his language; and we perceive that on other occasions Mr. Blomfield loves it too. It is true, there is something Homeric in this form; but we do not on that account like it the less; neither, we believe, would Æschylus. In the present case, we have MSS. and editions, critics, and lexicographers, in favour of the old reading εἰσοιχνεῦσιν. Granted, that in these little niceties their authority is not great: but there are many words in Æschylus in which a similar uncertainty of orthography is found; and still their authority is generally on the Ionic side. It will be recollected that the Ionic coincided with the old Attic; and that Æschylus studiously affected this latter dialect, Mr. Blomfield has repeatedly reminded us.—Upon the whole, then, many alterations of text

will be necessary to establish the entire abolition of these Ionic forms. Mr. Blomfield is entitled to the praise of consistency, at least; for he spares none of them. He is similarly consistent in abolishing the Ionic forms of the datives plural, and changes *ἐίζησι*, *ζεύγλῃσι*, &c. into *ἐίζαισι*, *ζεύγλαισι*, &c. Porson did not adhere to any consistent rule in this respect; nor does it appear that his mind was made up on the subject.

V. 138. *Ἀπέδιλος*. We do not understand why so much disquisition was necessary for the explanation of this simple word. The six lines quoted from Stanley are a sufficient explanation for any schoolboy. Mr. Blomfield has exhausted a whole page of his Glossary on the subject, and has really told us nothing in it at all, merely because there was nothing to tell. His note is wearisome trifling, displaying some learning, but altogether useless as to the purposes of information and assistance. He does not write notes thus in general.

V. 162. *ἐγγήθει*. This is, we believe, the true reading restored to its place in the text. Mr. Blomfield's former edition retained the Aldine reading, *ἐπεγγήθει*, which it was not easy to reconcile with any intelligible syntax. The word now received is undoubtedly the right tense; and we have no right to quarrel very seriously with the poetical use of the indicative mood instead of the subjunctive, a practice exceedingly common in the Latin poets.—The former part of the verse has been unnecessarily objected to, and a different reading proposed: Mr. Blomfield retains the old reading, *τίς ἄλλος*, and very justly. The expression has not necessarily any reference to men, since the heathen philosophy, as well as poetry, recognized the existence of other beings between men and gods, their *ἥρωες*, *ημιθεοί*, &c.

V. 167. *συνασχαλᾷ*. We believe there is no satisfactory reason for adopting the *σ* instead of the *ξ* in the chorusses: in the first edition this word was printed with a *ξ*. Mr. Blomfield is not correct in saying that the old form, *ασχάλαω* pro *ασχάλλω*, occurs in *Orest.* 775. The word there used is *ῥσχαλλων*, which Porson has left in the text; and he merely says in his note, that from a various reading, *ασχάλων*, you may make *ασχαλῶν*. In the passage of the *Iphigenia* the old form is necessarily retained; but Euripides would be less likely than Æschylus to bring the old forms into frequent use.

V. 168. *ὁ δ' ἐπικίτως αἰεὶ θέμενος ἄγναμpton νόον δάμναται οὐρανίαν γέναν*. It has been proposed to read *τιθέμενος* for *θέμενος*, partly for the sake of the metre, and partly because *αἰεὶ* is rarely joined with an aorist participle. The former objection is not of much force, and is obviated by the change of *δέδωκε γὰρ* into *δέδωκε δ'* in the antistrophe; and the latter Mr. Blomfield answers by connecting the particle *αἰεὶ* not with *θέμενος*, but with *δάμναται*. Is not this con-

struction very awkward? Rather than admit so violent a separation between two words so naturally connected together, we would construe αἰ with the participle, whether it be δέμενος or τιθέμενος. Nothing can be more forcible than the expression, ἐπικίτως αἰ δέμενος ἀγναμπτον νόον.

V. 188. “ἐρ-θίζω, *vellico*, ab ἐρέθω: utrumque Homericum: propriè de iis dicitur, qui lanam vellicant; ab ἔριον scilicet.” Mr. Blomfield is sometimes fanciful in his derivations; and we cannot but consider this as an instance of it, as also his derivation of σφίγγω (v. 58) from σφήν, *cuneus*, σφήν ἄγω, σφίνγω, σφίγγω.

V. 193. ἀπαράμυθον. The principle of lengthening the privative ἄλφα in composition, which Homer has done in the words ἀθάνατος and ἀκίματος, Mr. Blomfield proposes to extend to other words. He proposes to read ἀπόλεμος instead of ἀπτόλεμος in Homer; and adopts the principle in Æschylus, by which he maintains the common reading here instead of οὐ παράμυθον, which some MSS. have, but which is very awkward. If it be objected to this, that in the Iphigenia of Euripides, (in Aul. v. 622) ἀπάράμυθον makes its first syllable short, we think it sufficient to reply, that Euripides might very naturally discard, and Æschylus retain, that usage which, it is clear, was more ancient.

V. 210. Mr. Blomfield well explains τοῦμπᾶλιν, *contrarium*, not *contra*. The full expression would be τὸ ἐμπᾶλιν ὄν.

V. 214. There is a valuable discussion in the Glossary on αἰμύλος, and the adjectives of that form. Mr. Blomfield decides, and we think rightly, that the quantity of their penultimate syllables is invariably short; and as to the passage of Aristophanes, that militates against this rule, we can have no hesitation in reading the word there Ἰππυλλος.

V. 216. ἀνοχθεί. The common reading before was ἀμοχθεί. Mr. Blomfield here takes occasion to examine into the general system of Greek adverbs; and he has displayed considerable learning and judgment in combating the hitherto received opinions of grammarians. It has generally been taken for granted, that adverbs are formed from the genitive case of substantives or adjectives: Mr. Blomfield contends with great ingenuity, and we think with success, that they are derived from the dative: *ex. gr.* from βοή is found dat. βοῇ, or, according to the ancient mode of writing, βοεῖ; and thence is immediately formed αὐτοβοεῖ. Again, from οἶκος comes the dative οἴκῳ or οἴκοι, which is literally the adverb: the same with πεδοῖ, ἀρβοῖ, ἐνδοῖ. He then supposes that the ο was dropped in order to prevent the confusion of the adverb with the nominative case plural; and thus we arrive at the form ἀμοχθεῖ, ἀνατῖ, &c. instead of ἀμοχθεοῖ. If this hypothesis be correct, it follows indisputably, that the diphthong αῖ is to be exploded, and that the right reading is ἀμοχθεῖ. The learned editor

proceeds to apply his principle to a great variety of adverbs, and to correct by it the orthography of many of them. One difficulty, however, he seems to have overlooked: if the diphthong *oi* is changed into the simple *i*, in order to avoid confusion with the nominative plural, why is not οἴκοι written οἰκί, πεδοῖ πεδί, &c.? We do not propose this as any serious difficulty; and we are inclined upon mature deliberation to receive the rule laid down, as thinking it calculated to give accuracy and precision to an important branch of the Greek language.

V. 219. *προυτθεσπικίει*. Of this and some other words Mr. Blomfield has changed the orthography since his first edition, writing it in its present form instead of *προύτθεσπικίει*. The reason of the change is obvious.

V. 248. ἀλλὰ νηλεῶς, for ἀλλ' ἀννηλεῶς. "Meminerint tamen tirones," says Mr. Blomfield, "eam [νηλεῶς] ex ἀννηλεῶς per aphæresin formari, non autem ex particula privativa νη, quæ, si quid me audias, a Græcia abjudicanda est." We find it difficult to agree with the learned editor here; and hope it is unnecessary to caution him against being led away by the seductive charm of novelty. —The Latin particle *ne* is a strong argument for the existence of a similar word in Greek; and if words of this form are to be considered as used per aphæresin for another form, why is it that they are used so much more frequently than those for which they are substituted? Νηλῆς, νῆστις, νήγρετος, νημερτής, are in much more common use than those for which they are supposed to be used: and again, if νηλῆς be formed from ἀννηλῆς, and that from ἔλεος compounded with the privative particle α or αν, we are at a loss to account for the quantity of the word. Would not the form be ἀνελεῆς? We suggest this for the consideration of Mr. Blomfield.

V. 255. *προύβης*, consistently with the editor's rule referred to at v. 219, should have been printed *προύβης*.

V. 271, 2. τὸν κακῶς πράσσοντ' ἐγὼ—for τοὺς κακῶς πράσσοντας· ἐγὼ, which makes an anapaest in the second place. The reading received was proposed by Stanley and Heath. A different change has since been proposed, viz. to leave τοὺς πράσσοντας in the text, and alter ἐγὼ to εὖ. We think ἐγὼ peculiarly necessary to the emphasis of the sentence; and therefore approve the reading Mr. Blomfield has adopted: "*But I too* knew all these things."

V. 275. *εὐρόμην*. This is the orthography adopted by Mr. Blomfield; and the reason of it may be found in the *Adversaria* of Porson, pp. 151, 2, or in Mr. Blomfield's note on v. 463.

V. 277. *κατισχανεῖσθαι*. On this word there is a difference of opinion between Porson and Mr. Blomfield. We agree with the latter in deriving it from ἰσχνός, *temuis*, and therefore writing it *κατισχανεῖσθαι*; but at the same time we decidedly think that

Porson was right in reading ἰσχαίνει (ab ἰσχω) in Orest. 292, nor does it appear certain, that in his note on that passage he had any reference to the passage before us, or would object to a different word being used here.

V. 327. ἐπίχειρα, *Merces*, “οἷονεὶ οἱ τῶν χειρὶ πονούντων μισθοί.” This is the explanation given by the Etymologus Magnus; and Mr. Blomfield, by quoting it without remark, appears to coincide in it, which we do not. The obvious meaning of ἐπίχειρα appears to be a prize lying ready to the hand, for the victor to seize; what Demosthenes calls “ἄθλα τοῦ πολέμου, κείμενα ἐν μέσῳ,”—thence applied to any wages or reward.

V. 340. ἔασον, “vel ἔμε,” says Mr. Blomfield, “vel αὐτὸν, sc. Δία.” Surely, neither: leave *it*—leave the matter, and be not concerned about it—not, about *him*. This interpretation is put almost beyond a doubt by the passage quoted from Sophocles, *Æd. Col.* 593.

V. 384. τὰ μὲν σ' ἐπαινῶ. Mr. Blomfield is inclined to understand this, τὰ μὲν σὰ, which we think very harsh; or, if it be taken as σε, he construes τὰ μὲν ex *hac* parte. We have no hesitation in interpreting it *partim*, just as if it were opposed to τὰ δέ. The opposition is understood in ἀτάρ.

V. 362. Τυφῶνα θοῦρον, ὅστις ἀντέστη θεοῖς. So Mr. Blomfield reads this line, from an emendation of Mr. Gaisford's which was approved by Porson. In the former reading πᾶσιν was inserted after θοῦρον, making an anapaest in the fourth place. This was at all events to be avoided; and various methods have been proposed. Mr. Blomfield has a long note on the passage, which is worth consulting; but as the reading he has adopted seems to be very generally approved by the scholars of the day, it may be unnecessary to add any thing on the subject, except that we are glad to get rid of the former error at any rate. If it were an universally received canon of criticism that transposition is always to be resorted to rather than omission, we would venture to propose a reading of the line which would omit nothing, and purchase an unobjectionable scenarius at the expense of two transpositions: θοῦρον Τυφῶν [or, Τυφῶν], ὃς πᾶσιν ἀντέστη θεοῖς. Where the case is desperate, so must be the remedy. We do not propose this reading with any confidence; but it has at least the merit of altering nothing except the order of the words.

V. 392. ἔα μὲ τῇδε τῇ νόσῳ νοσεῖν. We do not agree with Mr. Blomfield in adopting this reading in preference to τῇδε τὴν νόσον. The authorities are nearly equal on both sides; and as to taste and judgment, and poetical beauty, we think them clearly on the side of the accusative case. We may add that the usage of the tragedians is on the same side.

V. 396. θρήνος ὄμμος is well explained *dolor ob me susceptus*; but it should have been printed ὀμός.

V. 436, &c. ὃς αἰὲν ὑπέροχον σθένος κραταῖον οὐράνιον τε πόλον, νώτοις ὑποσπενάζει. Such is the reading of Aldus, Turnebus, Brunck, Schutz, Hermann, and at least 20 MSS. and with very little variation such we would have it remain. ὑποβυστάζει, which is more plain, is adopted by Robortello, Stanley, Porson, and Burney. Hermann proposes κραδαίνων in the place of κραταῖον. But we think the present reading much in the style of Æschylus, and see no material difficulty in it. We would remove the comma which Mr. Blomfield has placed after πόλον, and explode his idea that σθένος is governed by κατὰ understood; and then take both σθένος and πόλον with their epithets as the accusative cases after ὑποσπενάζει, which Mr. Blomfield explains *subtus ingemisco*, and which we would rather explain *gerens ingemisco*. Σθένος κραταῖον οὐράνιον τε πόλον is nothing else than σθ. κρ. οὐρανόῦ πόλου; and thus, all the difficulty vanishes.—If any change were necessary, we should propose to read ὑπερέχων for ὑπέροχον.

V. 447. προυσελεύμενον. This is Porson's reading received into the text; and in the note it is very satisfactorily supported and explained.

V. 454. λέξω δὲ, μέμψιν οὐτιν' ἀνθρώποις ἔχων. This is to be understood in the sense of Milton's phrase, "With his good upbraide none."

V. 473. διάδοχος, *successor*. The force of the word in this place seems to be, that they might relieve men of their labours by taking them upon themselves.

V. 535, &c. μηδ' αὖ ὃ πάντα νέμων θεῖτ' ἐμᾷ γνώμῃ κράτος ἀντίπαλον Ζεῦ. "*Neutiquam omnia administrans vim suam meæ voluntati opponat Jupiter: Ita scholiastes Stanleins et Schutzius. Sed omnino cum Garbitio verterim, Minime Jupiter omnia administrans indut animo meo vim rebellem, quæ versio tam certa est quam quod certissimum; neque video, si Stanleium sequeris, quomodo cohaereat illud, μηδ' ἐλινύσσαιμι, κ. τ. λ.*" After thus confidently avowing his opinion in the Glossary of his first edition, and strengthening it by a passage from Euripides, Med. 424, Mr. Blomfield retracts it in the second edition, and embraces the interpretation of Stanley. We confess we incline the other way, on this simple ground, that the sense requires it; for it is evidently the object of the chorus to deprecate a spirit of rebellion.

V. 627. τί μὴ χερὶς is altogether so insipid, that we cannot help wishing Mr. Blomfield had adopted Mr. Elmesley's elegant conjecture, τί μῆχαρ.

V. 631. ἀπλῶ λόγῳ, “simplici narratione:”—the same as σαφεῖ μύθῳ in v. 662.

V. 678. If Mr. Blomfield cho^s to retain the old reading νυκτί-φοιτα, we think he should at least have given it a place in his Glossary. For our own parts we should prefer the reading of the Codex Medicus adopted by Robertello, νυκτίφαντα.

V. 698. Λέρνης τε κρήνην. This is Canter’s conjecture, in the place of Λέρνης ἄκρην τε. Mr. Blomfield subsequently proposes ἀκτὴν τε Λέρνης, which is a change less violent; but as we are unwilling at all times to purchase any degree of elegance at the hazard of losing the words of Æschylus, we should be satisfied with transposing merely, and reading ἄκρην τε Λέρνης.

V. 699. ἄκρατος ὄργην is literally *intemperate* in rage.

V. 738. χρίμπτουσα ῥαχίαισιν. According to the rule which Dawes has inaccurately laid down, this reading introduces a spondee in the second place: for he asserts that an incipient ρ necessarily lengthens the final vowel of the preceding word. His principle was right; but he did not discover its exceptions; and later scholars have given it the accuracy it wanted. We believe the rule was first marked with its proper precision in the Quarterly Review; and it is thus stated in a note of Professor Monk on v. 461 of the Hippolytus: “Si finalis syllaba naturâ brevis *secunda* pedis pars est, ut in eam ictus metricus cadat, tum ob consonantem ρ in initio vocis sequentis producitur. Hæc autem vis ἐκτατικὴ non obstat, quo minus syllaba in pedis priorē parte brevis maneat, ut in Prom. 738, χρίμπτουσα ῥαχίαισιν.” The accuracy of this limitation is indisputably proved by the uniform practice of the Attic writers.

V. 795. οὐ δῆτα, πρὶν ἔγωγ' ἂν ἐκ δεσμῶν λυθῆις, manifestly wrong. Mr. Blomfield therefore in his first edition made out of some various readings πρὶν ἂν ἔγωγ' ἂν—not remembering that the Attic writers never use the double ἂν with a subjunctive mood; and a subjunctive mood was clearly required after πρὶν ἂν. In his second edition, therefore, he has adopted the easy correction of Pauw, πρὶν γ' ἔγωγ' ἂν. Other emendations have been proposed; but this appears to us the least objectionable.

V. 814. μνήμοσιν δέλτοις φρενῶν. To the references illustrating this phrase is worthy to be added Shakspeare’s expression, “the table of my memory.” Hamlet, Act. I. Sc. 5.

V. 854. πρὸς Μολυσσὰ γήπεδα. All the MSS. and editions read δάπεδα, to which Porson prefixed his obelus as a suspected word, though in his edition of the Orestes, v. 234, δάπεδον remains in the text. The ground of objection against it is, that the first syllable would be short, as in Homer’s “χρυσέῳ ἐν δαπέδῳ μετὰ δέ σφισι πότνια Ἥβη.” Mr. Blomfield, who is justly cautious in admitting any change into the text, proposes with tardy hesitation

to remedy the defect by a greater and more violent change, δάπεδα πρὸς Μολοσσικά. We would adhere to the univereal reading of the former editions, πρὸς Μολοσσὰ δάπεδα. Nor are we at all staggered by the objection about the quantity, conceiving that δάπεδα has the same right to an elongation of its first syllable as γάπεδα, being derived from the same root; for as the tragedians are supposed to have used γάπεδα for γήπεδα, “δωριζοντες,” so by the same Doric licence they might use δάπεδα for it; “οἱ γὰρ Δωριεῖς τὴν γῆν δᾶν λέγουσι.” See Mr. Blomfield’s note on ἄλευ’, ᾧ δᾶ, v. 584.—But if δάπεδον be the right word here, and its first syllable be long, how does Homer make it short? Just as he wrote, Ἄνδρα μοι ἔνεπε, Μοῦσᾶ, πολύτροπον—the Doric dialect changing η into α, and the Æolic into α short.

V. 875. We quote the following note as a good illustration of Mr. Blomfield’s cautious and judicious principle of criticism; “γεννημάτων omnes MSS. et Edd. veteres. Scaliger, c Peyraredi conjectura, θιγημάτων, probante Valcken. ad Phæniss. 639. Heysch. Θιγημάτων μασμάτων. Quam lectionem amplexi sunt Brunck. et Schutz. et certe probabilis est; non tamen ea auctoritate freta, ut in textum admitti debeat. γεννημάτων ferri posse observavit Butlerus . . . Scholiasta B. γεννημάτων τῶν παιδίων. Hesych. Γέννημα παιδίον.” Of all this we cordially approve, except the interpretation of γέννημα, which must be understood, like θίγημι and μίασμα, to refer to the *act* done, not to the *thing* produced; and then there is no difficulty at all.

V. 884. φθόνον δὲ σωμαίων ἔξει θεός. Mr. Blomfield is fond of giving an English version of a phrase, when he seems to have caught some peculiar felicity of expression; but we do not think he often succeeds. In the Addenda to his Glossary on this line he says, “Anglice verterim, *Will be jealous over their persons.*” We would render it, *Will grudge them their persons; i. e. will grudge giving them up to their possession.* The word *grudge* will be found generally to express the force of φθόνος, which is a word much in use with the tragedians. Compare together v. 604 and 649, and both of them with 647, in which μεγαίρω has exactly the same force and construction.

V. 906. κραδία δὲ φόβῳ φρένα λακτιζει. Mr. Blomfield, after Dr. Butler and the scholiast, well explains φρένα here by *diaphragma*; and the whole line is beautifully, though doubtless unconsciously, expressed by Shakspeare in his *Macbeth*,

—“makes my seated heart knock at my ribs
Against the use of nature.”

V. 981, 982. τὸν ἐξαμάρτόντ’ εἰς θεοῦς, τὸν ἐφημέροις
πορόντα τιμᾶς, τὸν πυρὸς κλεπτήν λέγω.

This has been the reading of all the editions, retaining an anapæst in the fifth place. Porson proposed to omit τὸν and read κάφημέροις. Mr. Blomfield omits τὸν together on the authority of four MSS. and reads τὸν ἑξαμαρτόντ' εἰς θεοὺς ἐφημέροις πορόντα τιμὰς. "Verte," says his note most happily, "qui contra deos peccasti beneficia mortalibus præstando." We have not a moment's hesitation in receiving this improvement as the best restoration of a pure text in the whole play. The editors were misled, and Porson among them, by supposing that the crime of benefiting mortals was a distinct charge in this bitter taunt of Mercury: but if it were so, what an anti-climax of bitterness would it exhibit! It appears to us that the energy of the sense derives not less advantage than the purity of the metre from the reading Mr. Blomfield has adopted.

V. 1037. ὀχλεῖς μάτην με, κῦμ' ὅπως, παρηγορῶν. We quite agree with Mr. Elmesley and Mr. Blomfield in applying the simile of κῦμα to Prometheus, and not to Mercury. Mr. Elmesley would place a comma after ὀχλεῖς, and then he renders it, "Molestus es, frustra me velut fluctum suadere conatus."

We have not stopped in our progress through this noble Tragedy to make any remarks on the geography of the author, exhibited in the wanderings of Iō: nor do we think it necessary now to say much. Some commentators have followed the unfortunate wanderer till their own heads have turned giddy in the pursuit. We have no desire to imitate them; and we are well satisfied with a sensible note of Mr. Blomfield's on v. 732.

"De Iūs erroribus multa multi, ut solent, scripserunt, quorum non nostrum est lites componere; neque id fecisse operæ pretium fuerit: satis enim manifestum est Æschylum suam geographiam, suam mythologiam, easque parum accuratas, habuisse."

We agree with Schutz and Mr. Blomfield in thinking that the river mentioned in v. 742 must have been one of the names of Hybrista; and neither the Araxes, nor the Ister, nor the Tanais, nor the Alazon, nor the Boristhenes. This supposition appears to us necessary to make sense of the line.

We are not less puzzled with the mythology, than with the geography, of this drama. We really do not comprehend it. We do not understand the distinct, deliberate, and fearless declarations of the approaching downfall of the tyranny of Jupiter, uttered on a public stage when that offscouring of a deity was in the height of his despotism; and we turn our thoughts with a hesitating and inquisitive anxiety to Him who was to come, not with the club of Hercules, but with the sceptre of righteousness, to deliver the nations from their blind idolatry of Jupiter and his brothel of divinities. We know, indeed, that those inconsistent

idolaters entertained very little respect for the gods they worshipped; but the language put into the mouth of Prometheus from v. 958 to 968 aims so directly at the foundation of the religion of the state then established, that we are inclined to address the poet as the chorus addresses Prometheus,

πῶς δ' οὐχὶ ταρβᾷς, τοιάδ' ἐκρίπτων ἔπη;

If he was too wise to fear the thunders of this Jupiter, he might reasonably have dreaded the infuriated superstition of his countrymen, who put to death the great Socrates about 70 years after the representation of this Tragedy.

It is unnecessary to say more than we have already said of the manner in which Mr. Blomfield has edited this first play of the great Father of Tragedy. The faults, as they appear to us, are soon enumerated. We think, consistently with the principle already laid down, that he has admitted too much extraneous discussion into his notes. In his Glossary he has omitted some words which certainly required explanation, and has explained several which scarcely presented any difficulty. Mr. Blomfield's Latin style is not entirely to our taste. He appears to us to be a better Greek, than Latin, scholar. The thing is, perhaps, scarcely worth mentioning; but in a follower of Porson it is impossible not to observe it. Mr. Blomfield, as well as the other editors of our day, is incomparably inferior to Porson in that ease and terseness, and classical elegance, and copious variety of Latin phrasology, which gave the late Professor the air of one who was writing in his own language. And it is no small compliment to his acknowledged superiority, that all his successors have agreed in copying, sometimes very awkwardly, his manner and his expressions.

We have enlarged more than we had intended on Mr. Blomfield's Prometheus, but not more than it deserved as the first of so valuable a series of the remains of the Athenian stage; and there is so much interesting matter to be noticed in the other two tragedies already published, that we must defer our remarks upon them to a future Number. In the mean time, we hope that Mr. Blomfield will proceed with unabated diligence in preparing for the world the remaining dramas of the Attic Shakspeare.

ART. XV.—*The Tragedies of Vittorio Alfieri, translated from the Italian by Charles Lloyd. In 3 Vols. 12mo. Longman and Co. London, 1815.*

ALTHOUGH we do not believe that Alfieri will ever become a popular author in this country, or that the present translation of his works will extend the amusement they can afford much beyond the circle of those who are qualified to peruse them in the original language, yet from the great celebrity of his name, and the acknowledged reformation he has effected in one department of Italian literature, we are led to take an early notice of the first attempt that has been made to introduce his tragedies to the British public.

The reputation of Alfieri both at home and abroad, during his life and since his death, has been that of being the Father of Italian tragedy, and, in a certain sense and with certain limitations, he merits that title. But it must not be understood by this concession, that Italy, before his time, was deficient in works called Tragedies, or that it had no correct example of that species of composition according to the canons of criticism there established; or that he has produced and left the first and ultimate standard of excellence for future generations. He must not be considered as an inventor in the sense in which that term is applied to Æschylus or Shakspeare.

Long before the commencement of a correct dramatic style in any other country of Europe, long before the days of Shakspeare, the Italians had made some progress in this species of poetry. They had translated the greatest part of what the ancients had left us, entered into grave and weighty discussions concerning the rules derived from their practice, and composed plays of their own after their models, and often out of their materials. Literary historians, collectors, and catalogue hunters, can present us with a long list of nearly a hundred tragedies of some celebrity written between the date of Trissino's *Sophonisba* (* la première tragédie régulière que l'Europe ait vue après tant de siècles de barbarie), which was acted before Leo X. in 1515, and the commencement of the following century. Out of this list, there are, perhaps, upwards of a dozen which every Italian scholar has perused with interest and with pleasure. When we mention Tasso among the contributors to the stage at that early period, no other voucher will be required for the great talents which were then sometimes employed in its service.

Literature, upon its first awaking in Italy after the torpor^o of

ages, acquired at once a vigorous spirit of enterprise, took an extensive view of its provinces, and was early led to the stage both by a tendency of its own and the taste of the times. The language rapidly advanced under the genius of Dante, Petrarch, and Boccaccio, who purified its phraseology, tuned its numbers, fixed its analogies, and almost determined its limits; while the other languages of Europe lay prostrate in their rude and elementary barbarism, affording no materials for the plastic powers of genius.

This copious and harmonious tongue in dramatic dialogue, even in the time of Trissino, was exempt from the shackles of rhyme, which were rivetted upon it in every other kind of poetical effort. On the stage nothing but the chorus, in its lyrical effusions, was subjected to such an artificial and oppressive bondage. But as it drew its first breath on the spot where ancient genius had breathed its last, and among the monuments which preserved the image of its pristine grandeur, veneration for those august models was more apt to lead into the barren path of servile study than to inspire the kindred efforts of manly emulation.

This remark is but too applicable to the Italian drama. The learning of the ancients was ransacked with a slavish pre-disposition to be universally guided by it. The Greek tragedies were imitated before their genius was fully comprehended; and the rules of Aristotle were received even by cardinals, bishops, and nuncios, with more implicit submission than the bulls of the Pope. Thus the pieces of the early Italian dramatists, instead of receiving their shape from the development of their own taste, or the circumstances of the people to whom they were addressed, took the form impressed upon them by the practice of a distant age, and the usages of a very different people. Because the ancients had a chorus, these writers conceived themselves bound to employ one too; because the ancients constructed their pieces according to a confined system of rules, and upon a narrow basis of incidents, they thought it their duty to preserve a naked simplicity in the structure of their fable, unsuited to the more varied relations and complex habits of a later age: in imitation of the long speeches of the ancient muse, they fancied themselves constrained to inflict an almost "mortal tediousness" of dialogue upon their audience. The authors of such compositions, directed by a system formed in the closet rather than on the stage of the world, and with their eyes fixed upon Aristotle rather than upon human passions and sympathies, contented themselves with insipid pieces of pedantic conversation between high personages, which led to something called a catastrophe; and thus the ends of their vocation were fulfilled. They succeeded in pleasing their learned and princely audiences in a monastery, an academy, or a palace; and wondered how the people, when admitted to these rehearsals, could remain insensible where criticism should have

taught them to feel, and presumptuously refuse their tears when demanded by a professed copy of that which had melted or inflamed an Athenian audience.

To deliver the people of Italy from those uninteresting copies of the ancient drama, from those pieces of sententious dulness or monotonous crime, in which the observation of Ovid,

“Omne genus scripti *gravitate* Tragedia vincit,”

was exemplified only in its worst sense, from Trissino, Ruccellai, and all their successors in the same style, the opera was invented about the year 1600, and in a short time monopolized all the best endowed theatrical establishments within the Alps. The choral odes which were generally if not always accompanied with music, and constituted frequently the most interesting parts of the entertainment, easily graduated into a more uniform and sustained musical composition; and notwithstanding the total want of truth in the pictures, of probability in the events, of consistency or nature in the characters which the opera usually embraces, yet by the union of a powerful orchestra with the display of vocal excellence, and by the addition of action and stage movement to the splendor of scenic decoration, it soon became universally popular, not only in the country where it originated, but in the rest of Europe. In England Sir William Davenant, we are told, “set up the whim of the opera;” and Mr. Rowe, in his time, speaks of it as a monster which was likely, if not checked, to swallow up both tragedy and comedy. Great, however, as is the absurdity of this species of drama, this “sottise magnifique,” in which

———“its race of heroes fill the stage,
Who rant by rote, and through the gamut rage;
In songs and airs express their martial fire,
Combat in trills, and in a fugue expire,”

there was nothing in the regular Italian tragedy then in vogue that deserved to enter into competition with it, either in its power over the imagination or the senses. In the long interval between the complete establishment of the melo-drame and the latter part of the last century, innumerable attempts at tragic composition were made, and some of them by men of genius; but none of them, except the Merope of Maffei, excited much notice either in Italy or the transalpine world, and the feeble light which they shed was at first neglected for the more sparkling beauties of Metastasio, and at last completely eclipsed by the splendour of Alfieri.

Fame has a short memory. Out of the names of a great many Italian tragic writers entrusted to her charge, some of whom composed more than fifty tragedies, she cherishes the remembrance of few besides that of the Author whose works are now before us, and

who, by the sturdy independence of his principles, the force of his personal character, and the vigour of his poetic talents, has acquired a more extensive celebrity among foreigners, and made a deeper impression on his countrymen, than any literary character that has appeared among them since the death of Tasso. By a decided movement of his own mind he was impelled to new model the Italian drama, and to decorate it with scenes of majesty and vigour to which the stage of Italy had till then been a stranger. Endowed by nature with a strong and penetrating genius, and carried towards his object with an ungovernable impetuosity of temper, he was early left to the disposal of chance or the guidance of his own passions; and thus the misfortune of an irregular and neglected education, if it impressed him with no useful principles, or infused no systematic information, was, like other misfortunes, not without some indirect advantage in exempting him from the yoke of undue authority, and the tyranny of precedents and names. Having early, by the accidental course of his reading, and by visiting England, imbibed some vague and desultory notions of civil liberty, his restless passion for personal distinction, and his enthusiasm for national glory, led him to the admiration of republican governments, and to a fierce contempt for, and impatience of, existing institutions. Politics would have been his natural career in the state, had the state offered objects encouraging to his ambition; and political subjects became his constant theme upon the stage when his fiery spirit was directed into that road of distinction. Having declared against the perpetual employment of amorous intrigue in tragedy, against the power of love, the ever present divinity of the opera and of Italian poetry, he was led to undertake other great and important changes. • That restless and impetuous disposition, which in the earlier part of his life drove him from one state of Europe to another without object, when turned into the line of his new vocation, became literary enterprise, and enabled him to conquer difficulties which, to feeble or less ardent minds, would have appeared insurmountable. It inspired that magnanimous industry which more than repaired the defects of his education, gave to the dramatic treasures of his country nineteen original tragedies, and challenged for him a lofty seat among tragic poets.

Opinions concerning the merits of Alfieri will be determined by the standard employed in estimating them. If he alone is to be admitted to bear the great name of tragic poet, who can chain our interest to the wheels of his imagination, carrying us captive through scenes and events beyond the bounds of creation, whose magical genius, like the rod of Prospero, can give to the fictions of fancy a palpable and natural existence, while, by preserving a

more undeviating consistency, by selecting more striking examples and exhibiting more powerful contrasts than nature herself presents, it communicates to this new creation a power of affecting which reality scarcely ever attains; if we esteem him alone entitled to bear the name of tragic poet, who can place before us all the elements of human feelings in every possible combination, and in all the truth of life, finding a fit language for the deepest workings of the soul, and fit action for developing its secret purposes and resolves; in fine, if we esteem him only the genuine tragic poet to whose pervading intellect all the resources of language and eloquence lie exposed; who has visited nature in all her forms and varieties; and to whom her several kingdoms are under contribution for imagery, figures, and illustrations; if such be the qualifications necessary to complete our estimate of the true tragic poet, Alfieri cannot be admitted by us into this order. Carrying with us a standard so high, by which very few beside Shakspeare could be measured, the perusal of Alfieri's works would infallibly lead to disappointment. But if we are disposed to try this writer by a test less severe; if tragedies written to a certain extent after the manner and according to the canons of the ancients, without intricacy of fable or diversified display of character, by one who is almost always studiously correct in the observation of the unities, consistent in the management of his plot, direct and progressive in its development, rigorous in balancing and proportioning its parts, guardedly scrupulous in the use of ornament, careful to retrench exuberance, and to preserve tragic propriety by a certain stately grandeur, though at the expense of every thing that might produce effect by what is called *repose*, or afford relief by comic contrast—parsimonious in the use of rhetorical expression, economical of figures, energetical sometimes by abrupt transitions, sometimes by a sententious brevity, sometimes by dint of compression, and though often rugged, yet always vigorous and lofty in language and execution—in short, who has given us something like French tragedies without French declamation, and confining his genius within a narrow circle of taste and opinions, has moved within that narrow circle with a force and dignity which scarcely any other modern dramatic poet possesses; if tragedies so constituted, so modified, and displaying these characteristics, can satisfy our ideas of excellence, then will the tragedies of Alfieri entitle him to the lofty distinction to which he has aspired.

Although we have mentioned the most striking peculiarities of Alfieri in the above enumeration, we are anxious to introduce our readers to a closer view of his merits, and to illustrate them by a reference to particular pieces, and by the production of some specimens from the work before us.

On the slightest inspection of his plays, some of the changes

superinduced by him upon the models of his predecessors, cannot fail to strike those who have the slightest acquaintance with the subject. The chorus of the old Italian tragedy, and the confidants of both the French and Italian stage, have entirely disappeared. We see no love intrigue in the plot, no declamation in the dialogue, no stage trick, no common places, no gossiping among servants or dependents. These innovations have been proclaimed as bold and unequivocal improvements by his admirers, and some of them undoubtedly are so. The employment of confidants on the French stage having been reduced to system, often encumbered the piece with useless supernumeraries, who contributed as little to the issue of the events as the train that follow an eastern army contribute to its success in the field. In the tragedies of Corneille, Racine, and Voltaire, they have a regular place; and some restraint upon a class of beings who performed so little essential service, must certainly be pronounced an improvement; but in banishing them altogether without substituting any persons more closely connected with the interests of the piece, our author has not introduced an unalloyed advantage. The audience at times require to be let into secrets of which they could not be informed by the events immediately passing under their view, a knowledge of which may be very necessary to guard them from perplexity, and to allow free scope for their sympathies. However regular and direct the work of a dramatist may be, such a necessity will sometimes occur, and must be met by some theatrical, and, perhaps, not very natural device. Alfieri endeavours to bring this about by soliloquies, in which he abounds more than any other writer, his chief characters scarcely ever entering or leaving the stage without saying something to themselves, without contriving to be alone for a little while, and venting some piece of gratuitous information, good-naturedly intended to relieve the embarrassment of the spectator. These monologues, it is true, are short and animated, but they are destitute of ease, of grace, and of nature; for though this practice of unconsciously communicating our impressions and feelings, which has been called "thinking aloud," may be natural enough when the mind labours under some overwhelming calamity, is convulsed with remorse or passion, meditates some vast design, or is intensely occupied with some momentous reflection, it is very ridiculous because very unnatural on common occasions. Actions which are meant to indicate deep musing or powerful excitement, can never, with propriety, be employed as a machine of mere stage convenience; nor can persons, who have nothing particularly interesting to engage their meditations, be permitted to burst forth into a speech when left alone, for no other reason, at least that can be avowed, than because there is nobody to hear them. A French critic has remarked, that Alfieri, who is so profuse in soliloquies,

does not use the *a partes*, which occur so frequently in the works of some of his predecessors. This observation is generally true; but it does not hold universally, as *a partes* or a device very similar may be found in *Mirra* several times, in the second scene of the third act of *Sophonisba*, and, perhaps, in one or two other places.

Connected with the dismissal of confidants and inferior characters, may be mentioned the very limited number of persons, whom he has employed to conduct the business of the piece, and the very confined sphere of action allotted them. The greatest number of his speakers is five or six, and several of his tragedies, such as *Timoleon*, *Antigone*, *Octavia*, *Merope*, *Rosmunda*, and *Sophonisba*, admit only four. With so few speakers there cannot be many unexpected meetings, many new combinations in society, many opportunities of turning the characters on different sides. They must, of course, therefore, be but very partially developed. They very soon get acquainted with one another, and the audience with them all. They never can be spared out of our sight, as there is no *corps de reserve*; and we soon learn all that they can do. Accordingly, we find that the interviews are few, and the conversations long, the dialogue extremely methodized, and the characters exposed only in that particular point of view which suits the general action of the piece. No latent qualities, no workings of the heart, are betrayed by the unexpected collision of enemies, or the confidence of friends; and we retire when the curtain drops, without knowing any thing more of those who "fretted their hour upon the stage," than what was necessary for bringing about the catastrophe which terminated our entertainment. They are like figures in a painting, which represent objects in one particular attitude, and under certain lights and shades, but which afford us no insight into their more unobtrusive properties, and which cannot, like realities, be turned round and examined. In fact, we observe, in the whole of Alfieri's dramatic works, nothing like a complete developement of character, nothing like a just representation of human beings with the freshness and verdure of real life—with the natural unworn stamp of humanity—with that assemblage of diversified, yet consistent qualities, feelings, and tendencies, which there is scarcely a man so monotonous as to be without. His personages exhibit a few of those features recorded of them in history, or where his history fails, are mere abstractions of general principles, moved by the ordinary influence of particular passions. The author bestows upon them the mask, and the cothurnus in the beginning of the piece, and thus they remain habited and characterised till its conclusion. They seem made for the purpose of exhibition, and to have previously no natural individual existence. Being brought forward for the expression of certain opinions, the illustration of certain truths, or the per-

formance of certain actions, the consciousness that they are acting a part appears to hang about them, and they seem not to dare to go beyond their commission. Whether they make soliloquies, or engage in dialogue; whether they figure in the court or the camp, the forum or the anti-chamber, they are never permitted to lose sight of the audience, or to disclose peculiarities beyond the strict line of their duty.

So general is this defect of discrimination, this want of simple nature in his sketches, of fullness of colouring in his details, that we can scarcely name one of his characters calculated to obtain so permanent a place in our imaginations, or so powerful a hold of our sympathies, as, in our careless moments, to be con-founded in the memory with real existences. We need scarcely mention that many such are to be found in Shakspeare, who called forth, from "the vasty deep" of his own fancy, beings so true to our nature, or so completely furnished with attributes of their own, that they have not vanished, like Ariel in the *TEMPEST*, when the exhibition of the evening is finished, but have remained with us, have acquired a "local habitation," a kind of domicile among us, have become familiar to our minds, and rendered their actions and peculiarities the subjects of common reflection and moral reference.

We have, in the volumes before us, a great variety of tyrants and conspirators, patriotic princes and popular assertors of freedom, patricides, matricides, and many other tragic materials; but there are few of his characters so framed as to live in *our* remembrance an hour after the representation. The character of Agis, which seems to have been a favourite with the author, is general and uninteresting in the extreme. The gloomy and unrelenting spirit of Philip II. is well portrayed in his mysterious and gratuitous cruelty towards his son; but who would recognise, in the Nero of Alfieri, the features which history has left us of the Roman tyrant? Cosmo, the Duke of Florence, displays, through the whole drama of Don Garcia, nothing but brutal villainy; nor are his two sons more natural, or better discriminated, in their conduct and actions. This piece, however, contains some fine passages. *Sophonisba* excites considerable interest by her haughty patriotism and unbending animosity to Rome, while in the camp of Romans; and she strengthens that interest by her unexpected magnanimity, in adhering to her captive husband, whom she never loved, after being surrendered by him to his conquering rival, the original object of her choice, and to whom her heart was devoted; but the poet neglected the opportunity of greatly increasing our sympathy with the heroine by giving us her interview with Scipio, in which she disclosed the projects of Masinissa. In delineating that state of mental agony and distraction which

may be imagined to accompany a terrific involuntary impression, of the impending execution of divine inexorable wrath, Alfieri has shown himself a master. David, overpowered by the awful persuasion of God's desertion of him, and driven to madness by the scorpions of jealousy; and Mirrha, under the influence of an unutterably horrid passion, seeing the hymeneal lights converted into the torches of the furies, are sketches of terrible energy which will not easily be matched in any modern author. But in general, as we have before said, his characters want distinctness and individuality. They are known only by a few fixed appendages that serve as badges or symbols of their calling, as Hercules is known to a school-boy by his club, or Mercury by his cap and talaria. They are placed in a scene which is previously made for them, like figures in a landscape already formed, and seem to have no greater influence in creating the objects by which they are surrounded.

To this incomplete developement of character may be added, as a defect very similar in kind, the limited extent and uniform conduct of the plot, which distinguish Alfieri's tragedies. He rigidly confines himself to one single action, all the previous steps to the accomplishment of which are taken in one place, and within the duration of a few hours, literally following the rule of Boileau and the French stage:

Qu'en un lieu, qu'en un jour un seul fait accompli,
Tienne jusqu' à la fin le théâtre rempli.

There is, of course, seldom any contingency, any unexpected occurrence, any thing to *embroil* events, to suspend our interests, or to divert our minds from the naked and almost obvious catastrophe, to which the author advances onward with as much regularity and form as if he were prosecuting a suit before a court of justice. We see the end from the beginning. We soon learn all that has been done, or is to be done.

In some of his pieces, such as *Don Garcia*, *Rosmunda*, and those imitations of the Greek tragedy which involve the history of the houses of Thebes and Argos, we contemplate an unvarying succession of terrible ideas, a continued exhibition of crime, a monotony of horror. Our passions are never wrought up by degrees till they acquire an overwhelming force, as in the scenes of our old sterling English dramatic writers; we are never carried out of the circle of historical occurrences and habitual feelings into the region of the poet's creation, where every succeeding incident, saying, or disclosure, makes an additional assault upon the heart, till, with our voluntary power and ordinary consciousness suspended as under the influence of a dream, we surrender ourselves to the illusions of the moment, and feel all the agitations they are cal-

culated to excite. Indeed, such results could scarcely have been expected from the narrow, and, in our opinion, injudicious rules to which Alfieri systematically subjected himself. In the play of *Don Garcia* (a mere complication of atrocities, by which the author could only intend to blacken the house of Medici) the whole set of characters is limited to one family, composed of a father and mother and three sons, and the incidents which have their origin and completion within this limited circle of persons; occur in the regular time required by the code of the unities. By a very singular caprice, *Salviati* and his daughter, about whom the interest of the piece revolves for the first four acts, and who are the engines that move the whole, never make their appearance, dead or alive; and we have nothing till near the conclusion, but the conversation of three assassins about a deed of blood which they design to perpetrate, and which is at last prevented by the artifice of one of the villains, who makes his elder brother the victim, and by the death of the unintentional instrument of the murder, together with his mother, who attempts his defence. The stage is thus almost cleared at last, as in *Fielding's* mock heroic tragedy, and we have "blood enough;" but from the limited number and close relationship of the parties, who have no other subject of conversation but the meditated destruction, we have heard too much of the sanguinary catastrophe to be much moved with it when it comes, although it is varied from what might have been expected.

We may remark, in general, that, making due allowance for the narrow system on which these plots are constructed, their management is judicious. The situations are, in general, artfully chosen, the parts of every conversation are connected together by a natural train of associated thoughts, every interview promotes the progress of the piece, and every scene has its effect upon the final results. The transitions are easy, nothing is redundant or deficient; the leading efficient circumstances are fully evolved, without exaggeration and without violence.

If the plan of the Italian *Sophocles* (as he has been called) is narrow and constrained with respect to character and incident, he does not compensate for it by the diversified nature of the subjects of his several pieces, or by the variety in the sentiment and feeling which he aims at exciting. Before his time, love and gallantry enjoyed, in France and Italy, an almost exclusive monopoly of their tragedy, as well as their opera. So much was this the case in France about the middle of the last century, that we are told by *Voltaire*, that the chief performers in tragedy as well as comedy were called *l'amoureux* and *l'amoureuse*, in reference to the passion which generally engaged them; and that, out of about 400 pieces, of which the stage was in possession,

there were not more than ten or twelve founded upon any other subject. The same author adds, with truth, *C'est presque toujours la même pièce, le même nœud, form. par une jalousie et une rupture, et dénoué par un mariage; c'est une coquetterie continuelle; une simple comédie ou des princes sont acteurs, et dans laquelle il y a quelquefois du sang répandu pour la forme.*

The bold and stern genius of Alfieri renounced at once and for ever this effeminacy; but, by a fatal predilection, he was led into a system which, though of an opposite and more manly character, still, like all other systems, checked the free exercise of talent and invention. In his ardour for liberty he seems to have aimed at promoting her cause by making his characters the organs of her principles, and the stage an altar for immolating her victims. A wild admiration of the republican form, a burning hatred of tyranny, and a certain undefined longing for political perfection, without any distinct reference to moral or religious improvement, kept up a perpetual fever in his veins, and evolved a preternatural heat into the productions of his intellect. Hence he became the tragic poet of politics, conspiracy, and revolution. Hence, out of the nineteen original plays before us, we have two on the family of Medici, in which, to serve his favourite cause, he falsifies character, and perverts the facts of history; two on the conspiracies of the first and second Brutus; one on the death of Agis; one on the death of Virginia; one on the death of Octavia; while all the rest, except two or three, have either a reference to the establishment or overthrow of usurpation, or are filled with political sentiments. No author of his talents ever possessed a more limited range of opinions, or so completely transused them into his writings. Whatever be his subject, his fierce republicanism and indignant patriotism are sure to break out: his Muse seems never at her ease, except in the region of political declamation, in the tempestuous atmosphere of the forum, or when brandishing a dagger among a band of conspirators.

Now for ourselves, who, like the Squire of la Mancha, profess to be "peaceable men," and who do not feel it so very galling to submit to lawful authority; we cannot sympathise in this ardent aspiration after popular licence, this bigotry to the principles of confusion; and must confess, how much the perpetual recurrence of such sentiments, which constitutes the *mannerism* of Alfieri, destroys the pleasure and the interest which his works would otherwise inspire. Political subjects admit of little variety on the stage, and are little capable of affecting the heart. This remark is sufficiently illustrated by the chilling volumes before us; and, as a farther confirmation of it, we refer to the more successful example of those who, apparently aware of its truth, have in their management of a political story diverted the interest

of the piece from the main action to the private sufferings and destiny of some of the individuals involved in it. In the powerfully pathetic tragedy of *VENICE PRESERVED*, though the plot turns upon the conspiracy for liberty, though the conspirators make at least noble professions, and lay their scheme with much ability, who ever thinks of the liberties of Venice which the conspirators were to re-establish, or the senators and magistrates, whom they had resolved to destroy. When Belvidera enters, her sufferings and virtues occupy the whole of our sympathies, and the destruction of the Doge comes no nearer to our hearts than the expulsion of Tarquin. The Italian poet has reversed this order: with him the public fortune was every thing, and private interests nothing; and the consequence is, that though he has given us in his conspiracies some good harangues, and some stately tirades upon freedom, he has failed in producing the proper impression of the drama. In the tragedies of the first and second Brutus we have no domestic emotions; and, from the beginning to the end, we have no relaxation from political discussions and popular declamation. The *conspiracy of the Pazzi*, and the death of Agis, afforded the materials of pathos, as the wife of Raymond was the sister of the tyrant at whose life he aimed; and the wife of the Spartan King was the daughter of Leonidas, his oppressor; but the author was too much engaged in settling state affairs to expend his genius on these domestic interests.

The austerity of this writer's disposition, and his proud fastidious spirit, held him aloof from the tender troubles of domestic life, the harmonies of nature, and the comforts of religion. He has taken no "live coal" from the altar. His lips are cold, and his spirit cheerless. He makes no reference to a higher state as the support of suffering virtue, or the guiding star amid the gloom of calamity. Conscience, and hope, and faith, and forgiveness, and repentance, which usually walk in the train of misfortune and crime, afford no reliefs to his pictures. Though born in the country of Ariosto and Tasso, the land of chivalrous song, his works have no more of the spirit of romance than if they had been written by Seneca or the elder Cato; and though educated in the creed of a poetic corruption of Christianity, he has almost as little reference to its rites or forms as to the Koran. One of the most striking peculiarities in the plays of our great English dramatist, and the source of some of his most striking beauties, is the frequency of allusion to the circumstances in which his personages act, to the progress of natural events around them, to the operations of the elements, and the awful effects they produce. For an illustration of so general a characteristic, we need scarcely refer our readers to *King Lear*, to *Macbeth*, to *Julius Cæsar*, or

any other particular piece. But in the tragedies of Alfieri, we scarcely remember that there is such a thing as an external world, that there are such objects as the seasons or the elements; for no changes in the heavens above, or the earth beneath, affect the guilty minds of his tyrants, or the dignified composure of his patriotic republicans. He has thus scarcely ever made what may be truly called a scene. He has stript Melpomene of all her external decorations, and left her nothing but her dagger and her bowl.

We have hitherto avoided giving quotations in confirmation of our remarks, as indeed, from their reference to the general style and execution of the author, rather than to any single piece, they scarcely admitted of illustration from particular extracts. To supply this necessary omission, we shall conclude by selecting a particular play, by extracts from which, and an abridgment of its plot, we may illustrate both the style of the original and the merits of the present translation. For this purpose we shall fix upon the piece of *Saul*, both because it is written with the utmost strain of the author's genius, and because the subject carried him out of the range of his politics, while it allowed him to observe, in every other respect, his usual style and manner. For poetical merit, it is one of the finest compositions in any language. The situations are beautifully disposed and dexterously managed, the characters well supported, the dialogue animated, and distinguished by that dignified severity of language that accords with the solemnity of a subject taken from Holy Writ, the facts of which are as artfully interwoven as they are in general rigidly adhered to. The scene is laid in the royal tent of Saul, and the time is the day previous to the battle which terminated the reign and the life of that monarch. The army of the Philistines is in front, and the hosts of Israel, whose standards victory had deserted since Heaven had abandoned their king, are ranged around. David, whom the cruelty of Saul had driven to seek refuge among the enemies of his country, seeing that his countrymen had now become the trembling retainers of a despairing chief, and learning that an attack was to be made upon them on the following day, yields to the impulse of patriotism, and, at the hazard of his life, enters the camp of his persecutor to assist him on the ensuing engagement. He is introduced in the play, before dawn, near the royal tent, making a soliloquy, which is liable to the objection above made to his soliloquies in general. He concludes :

“ Night ! do thou soon yield
Thy shades to the glad sun ; for he, to-day
The witness of a generous enterprize,
Is destined to shine forth. Gilboa ! thou

Shalt to the latest ages be renowned;
 They shall record of thee, that David here
 Himself surrendered to ferocious Saul!
 March forth, O Israel! from thy peaceful tents;
 March forth from them; O king! I challenge you
 To-day to witness, if I yet am versed
 In military arts. And march thou forth,
 Impious Philistine! march thou forth, and see
 Whether my sword have yet the power to smite."

He is over-heard by Jonathan, the king's son, who expresses his surprise at his return, and his alarms for his personal safety.

—————*Jon.* "And can it then be true!
 Thou in Gilboa? Fearest thou not my father?
 I tremble for thee.

Da. "Wherefore speak'st thou thus?
 Death present in the fight, a thousand times
 Have I beheld and brav'd; for a long time
 I have since fled thy father's unjust rage;
 But to the valiant fear alone is death.
 No longer now I fear; with mighty danger
 The monarch and his people are encompassed.
 Shall David be the recreant, meanwhile,
 To skulk securely in untrodden forests?
 While imminent o'er you the weapons hang
 Of the unfaithful, shall I take a thought
 Of my own safety? I came here to die;
 But, like a hero, in my country's cause,
 Amid the clash of arms, and in the camp,
 And for that very ill-requiting Saul,
 Who now pursues me with the cry of death!"

Jonathan, with great admiration of his virtue, tells him, nevertheless, that Saul can never forgive him his generosity; that he is possessed by a malignant demon, which sometimes leaves him; and beset by the suggestions of the envious Abner, who never forsakes him for a moment. In the course of his address, he incidentally mentions Michal, the daughter of Saul and David's wife, who is found, to the great transports of her husband, to be in the camp, and who is described by her brother as heroically renouncing all consolation in his absence.

"Ah! hadst thou seen her! scarcely had she lost thee,
 When every ornament her grief disdain'd.
 With loathsome ashes her dishevelled hair,
 With desolation, pallidness, and tears,
 And leanness, was her countenance disfigured.
 Profound mute grief sat on her trembling heart;
 A thousand times a day she prostrate fell

' Before her father, and with sobs exclaim'd,
" Restore my David, thou, who gavest him to me!"
Her garments then she rent, and, weeping, bathed
Her father's hand, that even he shed tears:
Who could refrain? Abner alone; and he
Insisted that, half dead even as she was,
She should be severed from her father's feet."

Jonathan then tells him that Michal was not the only sufferer by his absence; that Israel was disheartened at the loss of her champion, and he himself at the flight of his friend; but, he adds, that the treachery of Abner may render his return fatal to him, and counsels him to conceal himself, at least till the "mountain echoes with the warlike trumpet," and to lend his assistance in battle unknown to Saul. To which David replies:

—————" And shall a valorous deed
Be, like a scheme of guilt, by stealth transacted?
Saul shall behold me ere I meet my foes!
I bring with me what must confound; what must
Reform the hardest of all harden'd hearts
I bring; and first the fury of the king,
Then that of hostile swords, I will confront.
What canst thou say, O king! if I to thee
Bend, as thy servant, my submissive brows?
I who, the husband of thy daughter, ask
Pardon of thee for ne'er committed faults:
Thy ancient champion I, who in the jaws
Of mortal danger, as thy comrade, shield,
Or victim, offer now myself to thee."—

He then desires to see his wife before the king awakes; and while Michal, after a disconsolate and sleepless night, is seen approaching, he retires, and hears her express to her brother the most vehement language of inconsolable sorrow at his absence, and her resolution to depart in search of him. The interview that follows is tender and affecting beyond the author's usual manner. It is agreed between them, that Jonathan and Michal should first go to their father to learn the state of his mind, and to prepare him for admitting to his presence his son-in-law; but, in the meantime, the latter is advised by his friend to mix among the undistinguished warriors, and to lower the visor of his helmet that he may not be recognised. To which his wife beautifully replies:

—" Among the warriors
How can my David be concealed? What eye
Darts from beneath the morion like his?
Who wields a sword that may with his compare,
And whose arms clang with such a martial sound?

Ah no, my love! 'twere better thou wert hid
 Till I return to thee. Ah! wretched me!
 Scarce found, must I surrender thee already?
 But only for an instant; after that,
 Never; no, never will I leave thee more.
 Behold! dost thou not see a spacious grot
 In the recesses of that gloomy wood?
 There oft have I invoked thee, from the world
 Retired, and sighed for thee, and thought on thee!
 There, with my bitter tears, have I bedewed
 The rugged stones: in this conceal thyself
 Till the fit time come for discovering thee."

Here the first act ends, being very short, consisting, as in most of his plays, of only one or two interviews, disclosing very little of the action, and exhibiting only a few of the characters. The second act presents us, in the first scene, with Saul and Abner, the general of his forces, upon the stage. The king is represented as oppressed with that overwhelming despair and agonising jealousy which are so well supported during the piece; sometimes breaking forth into the most frantic paroxysms of fury, and sometimes subsiding into the most melancholy dejection, or blank desolation of spirit. Abner endeavours to raise him by celebrating his former victories over the Philistines, and upon his mentioning the absence of David, assures him that all his troubles spring from that source, from his intrigues with the priests, and particularly with the crafty and audacious Samuel, who had denounced the reigning monarch, that prophets and fanatics might domineer under his more complying successor. At the mention of the name of David in such company, and connected with such projects, Saul, in a speech, which though long we cannot resist transcribing, betrays the distractions of a fiery but dejected spirit, goaded by jealous ambition, 'struggling with the feelings of nature, and unwilling to submit even to the decrees of Heaven.

"David!—I hate him—but yet I to him
 Have yielded up my daughter.
 Ah! thou canst never know; the self-same voice,
 Imperative and visionary voice,
 Which, as a youth, my mighty slumbers broke,
 When I in privacy obscurely liv'd,
 Far from the throne and all aspiring thoughts:
 For sundry nights hath that same voice been heard,
 In menacing denunciatory tones;
 Like the deep murmur of the stormy waves,
 Thundering repulsively, to me it cried,
 "Depart! Depart, O Saul!"—the sacred aspect,
 The venerable aspect of the prophet,
 Which I had seen in dreams before he had

'Made manifest that God had chosen me
For Israel's king; that Samuel, in a dream,
Now with far different aspect I behold:
I, from a hollow, deep, and horrible vale,
Behold him sitting on a radiant mount;
David is humbly prostrate at his feet;
The holy prophet on his forehead pours
The consecrated oil; with th'other hand
Stretched to my head, a hundred cubits length,
He snatches from my brow the royal crown,
And would replace it on the brow of David.
But wouldst thou think it? David prostrate falls,
With piteous gesture, at the prophet's feet,
Refusing to receive it! and he weeps,
And cries, and intercedes so fervently,
That he refits it on my head at last.
O spectacle!—O David!—generous David!
Then thou art yet obedient to thy king,
My son; my faithful subject, and my friend?
Distraction!—Wouldst thou take from me my crown?
Thou who daredst do it, insolent old man,
Tremble!—Who art thou?—Let him die at once
Who e'en conceiv'd the thought—Alas! alas!
I rave like one distracted.'—

While he is in this state, Jonathan and Michal enter to him, to second the influence of the more consoling part of his dream, to effect a reconciliation between him and David, both of them urging his virtues and loyalty; the one with the eloquence of friendship, the other with the tenderness of love. They succeed in melting the heart of their father in opposition to the insinuations and remonstrances of Abner, who is beginning to breathe fresh suspicion and calumny against David, when he interrupts him by unexpectedly entering, and offering himself a sacrifice to the unmerited vengeance of Saul. The king is at first overpowered by this noble intrepidity, but listening to the suggestions of that jealousy which the poisonous arts of Abner had infused into his heart, he questions him concerning those parts of his conduct on which envy had put the foulest constructions. In his answer, David shows the groundlessness of the charges brought against him, and beautifully introduces that circumstance in sacred history, where he is said to have cut off the hem of the king's garment, when in pursuit of him he had fallen asleep in the same cave where he had taken refuge. Overcome by such an irrefragable proof of generous forgiveness, the king restores him instantaneously to confidence, and appoints him to the command of his army in the ensuing combat.

The third act opens with an interview between David and Abner, for concerting arrangements preparatory to the battle, and settling the plan of attack. One is unfolded by Abner, including a very picturesque view of the scene of contest, and is highly approved of by the liberal frankness and courageous candor with which David always combats the duplicity and envy of his adversary. While the latter departs, Michal enters with a report, that Saul, by the black artifices of Abner, had again resumed his gloomy temper and cruel purposes :

—“ Erewhile was he
Devoted to our cause ; with us he wept ;
Alternately embraced us ; and from us,
As if in his defence, he prophesied
A race of future heroes ; he appeared
To us, as he said this, more than a father ;
More than a king he now appears to me.”

This interview between David and Michal we think very affecting, particularly a speech of Michal, which, from its length, we regret we cannot here insert. The king now enters led by Jonathan, in that state of distraction and mental abandonment described in Scripture, as caused by the influence of an *evil spirit* :

Jon. “ Ah ! come, beloved father ! to thy thoughts
Allow a little respite ; the pure air
Will bring thee some refreshment ; come and sit
A little while among thy children here.
Sa. “ Who, who are ye ? Who speaks of pure air here ?
This ! ’tis a thick impenetrable gloom,
A land of darkness and the shades of death !
Ah ! see ! more nearly it approaches me !
A fatal wreath of blood surrounds the sun !
Heardst thou the death-notes of ill-omened birds ?
With loud laments the vocal air resounds !
That smite my ears compelling me to weep !
But what, do ye weep also ?”—

This agitation is carried to fury, and particularly directed against David, when, on his approaching him, he finds upon his person the sword which had killed Goliath, and which had been hung up as a trophy of victory in the tabernacle, whence he had received it from a priest ; thus recalling at once the youthful enterprises that excited his jealousy, and the priestly denunciations which completed his despair. Upon his making a frantic effort to seize the obnoxious guardian of the tabernacle, who is not present, he is restrained by Jonathan ; and his violence subsiding,

he breaks out into the following expressions, which remind one of some parts of King Lear:

"I am bereft of peace: the sun, the earth,
My children, and my power of thought, all—all
Are taken from me!—Ah! unhappy Saul!
Who doth console thee?—Who is now the guide,
The prop of thy bewilder'd feebleness?
Thy children all are mute; they scowl on thee;
And of the doting and infirm old man,
They only wish the death; nothing attracts
My children's wishes but the diadem,
Whose weight thy hoary head but ill sustains:
Wrest it at once; and, at the same time, sever
From this now tremulous and decaying form
Your father's palsied head—ah! wretched state!
Better were death! I wish to die!"—

His rage now subsides, and he dissolves into tears. The present is the occasion which Alfieri has chosen to follow up that part of the sacred history in which we are told that David, by his music, was employed to soothe and to compose the agitated mind of his master; and in the varied lyrical effusion which he has called forth from the "sweet Psalmist of Israel" for that purpose, he has exemplified almost every species of Italian verse, and exceeded every lyrical effort of the Italian muse. He found the situation happily supplied by the facts of history; he had exalted his fancy by those inspired compositions of the sacred poet, which "had flowed fast by the oracle of God," and had expelled the "evil spirit" from many a troubled breast; and he seems to have put upon the stretch, a genius peculiarly fitted for the rapid and daring flight of the ode, to imagine images and numbers capable of controuling a mind over which reason had lost her power. We are sorry that we cannot present the English reader with a translation of this sublime piece of poetry, as we cannot in conscience consider the version of Mr. Lloyd as a specimen of the author; but we cannot withhold a few extracts in the original. It begins with a hymn to the Supreme Being, grand and solemn, which, after the first two stanzas, is interrupted by the half-dreaming king:

—*Sa.* "Hear I the voice
Of David? From a mortal lethargy
It seems to wake me, and to me displays
The cheering radiance of my early years."

The ode then celebrates the exploits of his early life, in the following bold language:

"Che vien, che vien, ch'odo e non veggo? Un nembo
Negro de polve rapido veleggia

Dal torbid euro spinto.—
 Ma già se squarcia; et tutto acciar lampeggi:
 Dai mille e mille, ch'ei si reca in grembo.—
 Ecco qual torre, cinto
 Saul la testa d'infuocato lembo.
 Traballa il suolo al calpestio tonante
 D'arme e destrieri:
 La terra e l'onde e il cielo è ribombante
 D'urli guerrieri.
 Saul se appressa in sua terribil possa,
 Carri, fanti, destrier sossopra ci mesce;
 Gelo in vederlo, scorre a ogni uom per l'ossa;
 Lo spavento d'Iddio dagli occhi gli esce.
 Figli di Ammon, dov'è la ria baldanza?
 Dove gli spregi e l'insultar, che al giusto
 Popol di Dio già feste?
 Ecco ora il piano ai vostri corpi angusto;
 Ecco a noi messe sanguinosa avanza.
 Di vostre tronche teste;
 Ecco ove mena in falsi ildii fidanza.
 Ma donde ascolto altra guerriera tromba
 Mughiar repente?
 E il brando stesso di Saul, che intomba
 D'Edom la gente.
 Così Moab, Soba così sen vanno
 Con l'iniqua Amalech, disperse in polve,
 Saul, torrente al rinnovar dell'anno,
 Tutto inonda, scompon, schianta, travolve."

The king is roused by these warlike sounds; but, subsiding again, says:

————— "Alas!
 Should cries of war be now addressed to me?
 'Oblivion, indolence, and peace, invite
 The old man to themselves."

And we have then, from the singer, a beautiful assemblage of pictures and images of repose, of domestic attachments, of retired home-sprung felicity and feeling, calculated to soothe the most turbulent disposition, and to overpower the most ardent love of glory. Saul is composed, but speaks aloud in his dreams the train of thought that passes in his mind, in the following words:

"O! peace of mind! How precious are thy gifts
 To wretches, like myself, by thee deserted!
 I feel ineffably, through all my veins,
 Balsamic dew's of sweet composure steal.
 But what pretendest thou?—To make Saul vile
 Amid domestic ease? Does valiant Saul
 Now lie an useless implement of war?"

The poet now pitches his voice to the key of the king's last passion, and commences a song of war preparatory to the ensuing expected conflict. We quote the latter part of it :

“ Ma il re già, già si desta;
Armi, armi, ci grida
Guerriero omai qual resta?
Chi chi lo sfida?
Veggio una striscia de terribil fuoco,
Cui forza e loco—dien le hostili squadre.
Tutte veggio adre—di sangue infidele
L'arme a Israele.—Il fero fulmin piomba;
Sasso di fromba—assai men ratto fugge
Di quel che strugge—il feritor sovrano
Col ferro in mano.—A innarrivab-il volo
Fin presso al polo—aquila altera ei stende
Le reverende—risonante penne
Cui da Dio tenne—ad annullar quegli empj
Che in falsi tempj—han semulacri rei
Fatti lor dei.—Già da lontano io'l seguo
E il Filisteo perseguo,
E incalzo, e atterro e perdo; e assai ben mostro,
Che due spade ha nel campo il popol nostro.”

At the mention of the “two swords” in the camp, which the king takes for boasting, he is incensed, and aims at the life of David, who escapes by flight.

In the fourth act, Saul's aversion to his son-in-law continues unabated, notwithstanding the entreaties of Michal and the pleading of Jonathan. Abner soon arrives with a report, that, like a coward, he had fled, although the army was on the eve of engaging, and introduces the obnoxious priest who had formerly given him shelter, and delivered to him the sword which excited his displeasure. Ahimelech appears before his sovereign with an inspired boldness, declares the purpose for which he entered the camp, points out to the king his errors, his disobedience to heaven, and his dangers, and is ordered for execution. This incident gives additional interest to the plot; and, allowing for a little exaggeration, which, on such subjects, Alfieri can never avoid, presents us with a good picture of fanatic zeal on the one hand, and arbitrary power on the other.

—“ Who are, who are ye?

A selfish, cruel, and malignant tribe,
Who, yourselves sheltered, at our dangers laugh,
And kirtled in effeminate robes, presume
To govern us who sweat in cumbrous mail;
Us who mid bloodshed, apprehension, death,
Lead for our wives, our children, and yourselves,

Lives of perpetuated wretchedness !
 Cowards, less dignified than prating gossips,
 Would you with lithe wands and fantastic hymns
 O'er us and o'er our weapons arbitrate ?”

Ahimelech, in a reply with which we shall terminate our quotations, answers him in style perfectly appropriate :

“ And thou, who art thou ?—of the earth a king ;
 But in God's sight who reigns ? Examine Saul
 Thyself ; thou only art crowned nothingness,
 I, of myself, am nothing ; but I am
 A thunderbolt, a whirlwind, and a tempest
 If God descends in me ———.

——— Tremble, Saul ; I see
 Already in a sable cloud on high
 Death's dreadful angel poised on fiery wings ;
 Already with one hand hath he unsheathed
 The pitiless, retributory sword,
 And with the other from thy guilty head
 He plucks thy hoary tresses : Tremble, Saul,
 There is who doth impel thee to destruction.
 'Tis he, this Abner, instrument of Satan ;
 He who hath poisoned with suspicion vile
 Thy aged heart—he who hath dwindled thee
 From a crowned warrior to a less than child.
 Thou, thou, infatuate man, dost now remove
 The only true and stedfast prop of thee
 And of thy house. Where is the house of Saul ?
 On quicksands it is built ; it shakes already ;
 It falls ; it moulders into dust ; 'tis gone !”

Saul, at the same time, orders the whole assembly of priests that guarded the tabernacle to be destroyed, under the impression that they had conspired with David, and commands the hour appointed for battle to be changed, imagining with characteristic suspicion, that the young champion had fixed upon the evening for the engagement to mark the declining fortunes of his sovereign.

The fifth act is very short, but full of bustle and business. David is led forth from his retreat by Michal, and notwithstanding the implacable hatred of Saul, is determined to assist in the battle, till he is told that his services will not be accepted ; that Abner had received orders to destroy him wherever found, and that the camp had been already polluted with the blood of his sacerdotal friend. This last circumstance, giving him the assurance that Heaven could not support a cause which was contaminated with such crimes, determines him to alter his resolution, and to yield to the entreaties of his faithful wife. The third scene of this act presents us with Saul distracted under the influence of remorse and horror for the crime he had committed. The picture is powerfully drawn,

but we must refer to the play itself, as an attempt to detach parts of it would only destroy its effect. The noise of the battle is heard, the fugitive Israelites enter, Saul is told that his troops are completely defeated, and falls on his own sword.

If the drama of Saul can be considered as a favourable specimen of the author's powers, the quotations in English which we have extracted comprise a good sample of the translation. It in general adheres pretty closely to the original, where the original is completely understood, (which is not always the case), rendering some passages of it with considerable spirit and felicity of expression; but wanting throughout that abrupt conciseness and energetic simplicity, that rough sententiousness, that nerve and sinew which characterise the style of Alfieri. The translator appears to be somewhat defective in acquaintance with our early English dramatic writers, and not to be deeply or critically skilled even in the Italian language. A more thorough knowledge of the former might have given him a greater command of bold expression, and enabled him to avoid many clumsy, inelegant, and inharmonious verses; while a more complete possession of the latter would have guarded him from several mistakes, and enabled him to arrive at the essence and spirit of some passages, the surface of which only he seems to have comprehended. Had his ear been more delicately tuned to the regular measures of dramatic versification, the melody of his page would not have been so frequently interrupted by verses like the following:

- "Lives and reigns also in the hearts of many."
- "Thou, thyself, thou forcest thy wretched daughter."
- "Thou my companion, my solace thou."
- "Why irritate those who obey already?"
- "And perhaps to his own detriment, thy life."
- "If he persist to sequester himself."
- "Thou shouldest, thou to whom alike are dear
Agis and Sparta, strive to adapt thy son
To times like these, and inculcate obedience."
- "May I approach the willing spectator."
- "Except increasingly to exasperate."
- "With the immoveable calmness of a king."
- "I grieve that, and eternally shall grieve."
- "More than to tyranny is Sparta inclined."
- "In detailing the charges we must seem."
- "That the most inoffensive word may be."
- "A warm and sincere friend thou long hast found."
- "But if by Percus she is inflamed,
By her spontaneously chosen, whence."

To produce more instances of this dissonant disdain of metre, of verse below even the rhythm of prose, would be superfluous; they occur almost in every page; the ear and the tongue, prepared for the regular recurrence of similar sounds, are never in security for a moment. The perpetual promise of rhythm is constantly broken. There is regularity, indeed, to the eye where there is none to the ear; the lines are divided into a certain number of syllables; but it seems indifferent whether these syllables arrange themselves under longs or shorts, the iambic or the spondee.

We will now point out a few examples of mistake in rendering even the meaning of the original.

In the tragedy of Agis, Leonidas, in addressing the mother of that prince, asks, why, if he depends upon the justice of his cause, he does not confront him before the tribunal of the people; to which she answers, "because there you are protected by bribery and an armed force, while his only shield is unimposing virtue;" or "Perché d'armi e d'oro tu ti fai scudo, ci de virtude ignuda;" which, in the version before us, stands,

—"Because thou
Dost render it, of *virtue destitute*,
Thy instrument with bribery and arms."

We think it very doubtful whether the translator understood the import of the following words:

—————"A tor per sempre
Dei creditori e debitor, dei ricchi
E dei mendici i non Spartani nomi,"

the sense of which is "to abolish for ever in Sparta titles so contrary to the spirit of its laws as debtor and creditor, rich and poor," and which he has translated so literally as not to be very intelligible.

"To take for ever from the creditors
And debtors, from the rich and mendicant,
Their *Anti-Spartan names*."

There are a great number of such mistakes, the result of carelessness, or the effect of a superficial acquaintance with the language of the original. In the conspiracy of the Pazzi, when Raymond says, "Ma se pur nato da null'altro io fossi," which, properly translated, is in sense as follows: "But if even I were born for no other purpose;" Mr. Lloyd has made him say, "But e'en though I were sprung from other blood." In the third scene of the second act, Lorenzo says to Guglielmo, "Io non pretendo amor da voi; mal fingereste e nulla io'l curo, odate ma

obbedite," meaning in literal English, "I do not even expect attachment from you, you could not feign it, and I am regardless whether you possess it or not—hate me but obey me." This will not suit the translator—he has it,

"I do not even pretend regard for you ;
"I'll have you feigned and nothing it annoys me."

At the end of the same scene there is a mistake in rendering the parting words of Guglielmo, which entirely destroys the point of the menace they were meant to convey. He desires Julian to tell his brother the tyrant, in allusion to a previous part of the dialogue,

"Chi se un Bruto non fea reviver Roma
Pria de Roma e de Bruto *altri pur cadde* ;"

intending to hint to him the fate of Cæsar; but this trifling carnage will not satisfy the translator, who makes the passage run thus :

"And make him recollect, that if a Brutus
Failed to regenerate Rome, *yet many others*
Were sacrificed ere Rome and Brutus fell."

If we were to enter minutely into each play, we could produce many similar examples of haste or negligence; but we shall content ourselves with a remark or two upon the version Mr. Lloyd has given us of the lyrical piece in Saul. We certainly never saw any fine specimen of poetry so completely mistaken in its meaning, or so ridiculously caricatured in its style. There are almost as many blunders in it as there are stanzas. The second verse of the hymn beautifully alludes to the history of Moses, the miraculous events of which it describes; whereas the translator, by the word "oft," makes it apply to no particular circumstances, and thus destroys the effect of association. In the following stanza there seems to be an exemplification of one of the rules of the bathos :

"Ye sons of Ammon, late so proud,
Where is the scorn, the insults loud,
Ye raised against our host,
Your corses more than fill the plain,
The ample harvest of your slain
Invalidates your boast."

The reader will perceive, upon turning to the original, that it is very much *invalidated* by this version; nor can we more highly applaud the spirit and dignity of the following verses, although they

approach the elevation of the popular ballad of the Babes in the Wood:

“ The glossy laurel’s ever green
Doth screen his head *from heat*,
 His children all around him *seen*,
 His sighs and smiles repeat.
 They weep and smile, then smile and weep,
With sympathy endued,
 And still a strict accordance keep
To every varying mood,” &c

The following are in a different style, though neither bearing a greater resemblance to the original, nor possessing a greater share of poetical merit:

“ The king reposes, but *heroic dreams*
 With fearful majesty before him glance,
 Pregnant with death *and visionary themes* ;
 Behold transfixed with his victorious lance,
 The conquered tyrant of the haughty foes,
An awful shade in spectral gloom advance.”

In the original, “ *Ombra orribil che omai non fa danno.*”

“ Behold a *flash that instantaneous glows*,
 It is Saul’s brandish’d sword which no man spares,
 The weak and strong *confounding with its blows.*”

We were puzzled in the first place to catch a glimpse of the meaning in the following stanza, and then to account for such an extraordinary misapprehension of the original as it contains:

“ *The winged thunderbolt huge stones doth shower,*
And far less promptly doth the foe retreat,
 Than our dread sovereign in his mighty power
Pursues him, and his overthrow complete.”

The original passage runs thus:

“ *Il fero fulmin piomba :
 Sasso de fromba
 Assai men ratto fuggo,
 Di quel che strugge
 Il feritor sovrano.*”

The literal English of which is, “ the dreadful thunderbolt descends; a stone flies less rapidly from a sling than he flies whom the sovereign warrior pursues to destroy.” From a wrong punctuation, Mr. Lloyd must have been brought to think that the thunderbolt was to give sling stones; that these stones coming from such a quarter must necessarily be denominated “ huge,” and that these “ huge stones,” if they descended from the sky, must have made a “ shower.”

We are glad, in conclusion, to be able to say that there are few passages in the volumes before us so liable to objection as that which we have last produced; that the translation is in general respectably executed, rarely falling into great errors, and sometimes displaying considerable vigour and beauty; and that those persons of literary curiosity, who cannot peruse the tragedies of Alfieri in the Italian, will deny themselves a gratification, if they do not apply to the version of Mr. Lloyd.

ART. XVI.—*Memoire sur l'Iode*. Par M. Gay-Lussac; lu a l'Institut Royal, le 1^{er} Aout, 1814.

THE discovery of a new simple supporter of combustion, capable, like oxygen, of combining with almost all the combustible bodies, and of forming various acids and genera of salts hitherto unknown, constitutes a very important addition to the science of chemistry, and must have attracted the particular attention of all those who are interested in chemical pursuits. We conceive, therefore, that we shall perform a very acceptable task to our English readers, if we lay before them a clear account of all the facts hitherto ascertained respecting *iodine*. The treatise which we have placed at the head of this article is by far the fullest that has been published on the subject. But several facts of importance have also been ascertained by Sir Humphry Davy, M. Vauquelin, MM. Colin and Gaultier de Claubry, Dr. Wollaston, and some others. We shall take advantage of the contributions of all these chemists, and endeavour to steer clear of the hypotheses in which some of them have involved themselves. For in chemistry, and indeed in all other sciences, the facts constitute the important department. Hypotheses claim a very subordinate consideration, and indeed are of value merely as they serve to connect the facts already known, or lead to the performance of new experiments.

Iodine was accidentally discovered about three years ago by M. Courtois, a saltpetre manufacturer at Paris. This gentleman thought of employing kelp in his manufactory, and accordingly subjected it to a course of experiments. He observed the metallic vessels in which the solutions of kelp were evaporated very much corroded. This observation led him to make farther experiments, the result of which was the discovery of iodine. He concealed his discovery for some time, doubtless with the intention of investigating the properties of this new substance, and

he actually made some progress in the investigation. But finding that the cares of his manufactory would not allow him the leisure requisite for such an investigation, he communicated the secret to M. Clement, presented him with a quantity of iodine, and requested him to determine its nature. M. Clement accordingly made a good number of experiments upon the subject, the result of which was communicated to the French Institute about the end of the year 1813, and afterwards published in the *Annales de Chimie*. But want of leisure likewise prevented this gentleman from fully performing the task which he had undertaken. He therefore presented a quantity of iodine to M. Gay-Lussac, who is the most active, and one of the most sagacious and skilful chemists in France. He undertook the investigation with alacrity, and speedily determining iodine to be a new and an undecomposed substance, he read a notice to the Institute on the subject, and afterwards published the treatise which stands at the head of this article, which contains the result of all his researches on the subject.

Meanwhile M. Ampere having presented Sir H. Davy, who was then in Paris, with a quantity of iodine, he subjected it likewise to experiment, and drew similar conclusions with those of Gay-Lussac. He published a paper on the subject in the *Philosophical Transactions* for 1814, and has since prosecuted his investigation in several other papers published in subsequent volumes of the same work. Vauquelin's paper on iodine was published in the *Annales de Chimie* for May and June, 1814, and a paper by Colin and Gaultier de Claubry, on the combinations of iodine and vegetable substances, appeared in the same volume (vol. 90) of that work. To finish the history of the researches hitherto published on iodine, we have only to mention that Dr. Wollaston has ascertained the figure of its crystals, and that Stromeyer has pointed out a re-agent capable of detecting uncombined iodine, though constituting only $\frac{1}{150,000}$ of the liquid in which it is held in solution. We are aware, indeed, that several other chemists have made experiments on this substance, but as they have not yet thought fit to lay their labours before the public, we cannot avail ourselves of the facts which they have ascertained.

Iodine has hitherto been obtained only from *kelp*, a kind of impure saline substance mixed with much earth, which is prepared in great quantities on the coasts of Great Britain and Ireland by burning the fucus which is cast ashore in such abundance by the sea. It is prepared likewise on the north coast of France, and in that country is known by the name of *varec*. It appears that the French kelp contains a much greater proportion of iodine than the British. To what this difference is to be

ascribed is not known at present. The method followed by M. Courtois and the French chemists in preparing iodine has not been very particularly described; but the mode originally practised in this country by Dr. Wollaston, and obviously suggested by M. Clement's paper on iodine, is as follows:—the kelp is boiled or steeped in hot water till every thing soluble is taken up: this saline liquor is separated from the insoluble portion of the kelp by the filter, and concentrated by evaporation till all the salts which it is disposed to yield have been deposited. The residual liquid is now to be mixed with a quantity of sulphuric acid sufficient to render it very distinctly acid, and the mixture, after being boiled for some time in an open vessel, is to be filtered through wool. By these means we get rid of a quantity of muriatic acid and of sulphur; both of which, especially the latter, are injurious to the separation of the iodine. Mix the filtered liquid with a quantity of black oxide of manganese in powder, equal in weight to the sulphuric acid originally added to it. Put the mixture into a glass flask, and expose it to heat. A violet-coloured vapour speedily arises from it, which must be received into a glass vessel, or tube, placed over the mouth of the flask. In this vessel it speedily condenses, and constitutes the *iodine*.

It was from the violet colour of its vapour that our new substance obtained the name of *iodine*. Gay-Lussac gave it the appellation of *ione* from *iov*, the violet. But Sir Humphry Davy conceiving that this term, in consequence of its derivatives *ionic* and *ionian*, would lead to ambiguity in our language, suggested the term *iodine* from *ιωδης*, violet-coloured; and this term has been generally adopted. Indeed it is preferable to *iode*, because it is more analogous to oxygen and chlorine, the names of the other two supporters of combustion at present known.

The existence of iodine in kelp naturally supposes its existence in the fuci, by the combustion of which the kelp is obtained. Accordingly Sir Humphry Davy found traces of it in the following sea plants, which were collected on the coast of the Mediterranean.

Fucus cartilagineus,
 — membranaceus,
 — rubens,

Fucus filamentosus,
Ulva pavonia,
 — linza.

But he could discover no traces of it in the ashes of coralines and sponges.

The late Mr. Smithson Tennant made many attempts to determine whether iodine exists in sea water; and some time before his death he announced that he had discovered distinct traces of it in that liquid; but we are ignorant of the method

which he followed in order to determine the point. It was, however, reasonable to expect, *a priori*, that it should constitute a constituent of sea water, otherwise it is difficult to conceive how it should make its way into the fuci which derive all their nourishment from that liquid.

1. Iodine, obtained by the process described above, is a solid substance of a blueish white colour and metallic lustre, so as to bear a considerable resemblance to plumbago. It is still more like galena; but perhaps approaches most nearly to the appearance of the crystallized black oxide of manganese. It is so soft that the particles of it may be easily squeezed together between the fingers, bearing, in this respect, a considerable resemblance to an amalgam of mercury.

It has a peculiar smell, which has been compared to that of chlorine, only it is said to be much weaker. But to us it does not convey any such resemblance. The smell seems quite peculiar, and cannot be compared to any other with which we are acquainted.

Iodine is very volatile. If it be left in the open air it speedily disappears, and perfumes the apartment with its peculiar odour. When heated to 225° it melts, and, under the common pressure of the atmosphere, it is volatilized into a violet vapour at the temperature of 350° . It may, however, be distilled over along with the vapour of water.

Iodine crystallizes into rhomboidal octahedrons as was first ascertained by Dr. Wollaston. His method was to put a little iodine into a dry phial, and to set this phial on its side near a common fire. The iodine gradually volatilized and assumed the form sometimes of rhomboidal plates, sometimes of octahedrons. The axes of these octahedrons are to each other, as nearly as can be estimated, as the numbers 2, 3, 4.

Water dissolves about one seven thousandth part of its weight of iodine and acquires an orange yellow colour. Alcohol and ether dissolve it in considerable quantities. These solutions are reddish brown. Water precipitates the iodine from the alcohol in small crystals, which appear at first reddish, but gradually assume the natural colour of iodine.

Iodine has an acrid taste notwithstanding its little solubility in water. From the experiments of M. Orfila we learn, that when taken internally it is poisonous. He swallowed six grains of it. The consequence was a most horrible taste, salivation, epigastralgia, colic, nausea, and violent vomiting. When given to dogs in the quantity of 72 grains or more it generally produces speedy vomiting, by which means it is thrown out of the system and the animal saved. But if vomiting does not take place, or if it be prevented by tying the œsophagus, death ensues in the course

of a few days, without being preceded by any particular symptoms.

Iodine stains the fingers of a deep brown; but the stain very speedily disappears. The specific gravity of this substance, according to Gay-Lussac, is 4.948 at the temperature of 62° . But Clement found it only 4, and the writer of this article found the specific gravity of iodine in pretty large crystals only 3.791. There seems reason therefore to doubt the accuracy of the number given by Gay-Lussac.

Iodine is a supporter of combustion; but a much more imperfect one than any of the other supporters previously known. Potassium, when placed in contact with it, or surrounded by its vapour, burns with a pale blue flame. Phosphorus rapidly combines with it, and much heat is evolved. According to Vauquelin light also appears. But we were not able to observe any such evolution of light in our experiments.

As all attempts to decompose iodine have failed, we must consider it as a simple substance. As it unites, like oxygen, with combustible bodies, and as during this union combustion in certain cases takes place, we must consider it as a supporter of combustion. So that the supporters of combustion at present known are three in number; namely *oxygen*, *chlorine*, and *iodine*. And if *fluorine*, which there is the strongest reason for considering as a supporter likewise, be ever obtained in a separate state, we shall in that case be acquainted with no fewer than four of these bodies. Let us now consider the compounds which iodine forms with the simple combustibles.

2. The compounds which oxygen forms with the simple combustibles have received the name of *oxides*, those which chlorine forms are called *chlorides*. Analogy leads us to give the name of *iodides* to the compounds which iodine forms with the same bodies. This name appears to us better than the French term *iode*; we shall therefore adopt it in preference. The simple combustibles have been divided into two classes; namely, simple combustibles proper, and metals. It will be convenient to take these two classes separately.

I. The simple combustibles proper at present known are phosphorus, sulphur, carbon, boron, silicon, and hydrogen, to which we must add azote, though it is not strictly speaking combustible; but in other respects it resembles the other bodies of this class. Of these seven bodies there is one with which iodine does not seem capable of uniting; namely, carbon. Its action on boron and silicon has not hitherto been tried. So that there remains four bodies, phosphorus, sulphur, hydrogen, and azote, with which combinations have been ascertained.

(1.) *Iodide of phosphorus*. If iodine be put into a glass tube

shut at one end, and a bit of phosphorus be dropped in, a violent action immediately takes place. The phosphorus melts, great heat is evolved, and an *iodide of phosphorus* is produced. The colour of this substance is greyish black, its texture is crystalline, and it easily melts when heated. The combination takes place whatever proportion of phosphorus and iodine be employed. But there is one particular proportion in which there is no redundancy of either of the constituents. This, according to Gay-Lussac, takes place when we mix 1 part by weight of phosphorus with 8 parts of iodine. But, according to our experiments, the true proportions are 1 phosphorus and $9\frac{1}{2}$ iodine. The iodide thus formed is soluble in water. The solution is colourless. When the iodide is dropped into water a kind of effervescence takes place, and a strong odour is exhaled similar to that of muriatic acid. Both the iodine and the phosphorus are converted into acids. The water is decomposed, its oxygen uniting to the phosphorus constitutes *phosphorous acid*, while the hydrogen uniting to the iodine constitutes the peculiar volatile acid to which the odour of the liquid is owing. This acid has received the name of *hydriodic acid*.

It is extremely probable that there exists likewise a biniodide of phosphorus composed of 1 phosphorus and $19\frac{1}{2}$ iodine. It is certain that the two substances unite in this proportion. In colour it resembles the preceding iodide. But it is fusible at the temperature of 81° .

Thus it appears that the iodide of phosphorus, like the chloride of the same body, cannot be brought in contact with water without undergoing decomposition. As we are not at present acquainted with the oxide of phosphorus (unless phosphorous and phosphoric acids be distinguished by that name), we do not know whether it possesses a similar property.

(2.) *Iodide of sulphur.* Iodine and sulphur do not unite by simple contact; but if they be mixed in a glass tube and gently heated the combination takes place very readily. The colour of this compound is greyish black, and its texture is radiated like that of sulphuret of antimony. According to our experiments this iodide is composed of 1 part sulphur and 7.8 iodine. It does not appear to be immediately decomposed by water. But according to Gay-Lussac the iodine is separated, if this iodide be distilled with water. This iodide is of a more permanent nature than the chloride of sulphur, which is decomposed, and the sulphur deposited the instant it comes in contact with water.

(3.) *Iodide of hydrogen, or hydriodic acid.* When iodine is put into a vessel filled with hydrogen gas, no combination takes place. But if the vapour of iodine and hydrogen gas be passed together through a red hot tube, they unite and form hydriodic acid.

There are various ways of obtaining this acid. The first method practised was to pour water over the iodide of phosphorus, and expose the mixture to heat. The acid which is gaseous was expelled, and received in proper vessels. Gay-Lussac pointed out a still easier method of obtaining this acid in a state of purity. Put a quantity of iodine and water into a glass vessel, and cause a current of sulphureted hydrogen gas to pass through it. The iodine speedily dissolves. When that has taken place stop the process and expose the liquid to heat to drive off the excess of sulphureted hydrogen. The residual liquid is a solution of pure hydriodic acid in water. During this process the sulphureted hydrogen is decomposed. Its hydrogen unites to the iodine while its sulphur is precipitated, and is separated from the liquid by filtration.

Hydriodic acid thus prepared is a colourless liquid, having an odour very similar to that of muriatic acid, and a sharp acid taste, leaving behind it a sensation of astringency. By heat it may be driven off in the gaseous form and collected in proper vessels.

Hydriodic acid gas is colourless, and possesses the peculiar taste and smell of the liquid acid. Its specific gravity, according to the experiments of Gay-Lussac, is 4.443, that of common air being 1. So that it is by far the heaviest gaseous body at present known. When it comes in contact of mercury, it is immediately decomposed by the action of that metal. The mercury unites with the iodine, and forms an iodide, while the hydrogen gas, the other constituent, is left in the gaseous state. It occupies exactly one half of the volume of the hydriodic acid. Hence it follows, that hydriodic acid gas is composed of 1 volume of iodine in the state of vapour, and 1 volume of hydrogen gas, constituting together two volumes. The specific gravity of hydriodic acid, therefore, must be just the mean of the specific gravity of hydrogen gas and the vapour of iodine. This puts it in our power to calculate the specific gravity of the vapour of iodine, and to determine the weight of each of the constituents of hydriodic acid. The specific gravity of hydrogen gas being 0.073, we have

$$\frac{0.073 + x}{2} = 4.443, \text{ } x \text{ being the specific gravity of the vapour of}$$

iodine. Of course, by resolving the equation, we get $x = 8.813$. Thus the vapour of iodine is by far the densest of all the aerial bodies with which we are acquainted. Hydriodic acid is composed by weight of 73 hydrogen and 8813 iodine, or of 1 hydrogen and 120.72 iodine.

Liquid hydriodic acid, when as much concentrated as possible, is of the specific gravity 1.7. It smokes like muriatic acid, though not so perceptibly. But if a vessel containing it be placed beside another containing chlorine (supposing both open), a purple-

coloured atmosphere is formed between them, showing very evidently the volatility of the hydriodic acid. This acid boils at $262\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$.

When hydriodic acid gas is passed through a red hot tube, it is decomposed at least partially. The decomposition is complete if the hydriodic acid gas be mixed with oxygen gas. In that case water is formed, and iodine set at liberty. From this experiment it seems to follow that iodine is incapable of decomposing water. Accordingly, if the vapours of iodine and water be passed together through a red hot tube no oxygen gas is disengaged; yet if water holding iodine in solution be exposed to the solar light, or if it be heated, its peculiar colour disappears, and the iodine is converted partly into hydriodic and partly into iodic acid. Now this last acid is a compound of iodine and oxygen; so that in this case water must be decomposed, and one of its constituents must go to the formation of hydriodic, and the other to that of iodic acid.

Liquid hydriodic acid very readily dissolves iodine, and acquires a brown colour. Even exposing the liquid acid to the atmosphere gives it this colour; because the oxygen of the atmosphere decomposes a portion of the hydriodic acid uniting with its hydrogen, and setting the iodine at liberty, which is immediately dissolved by the undecomposed portion of the acid.

Concentrated sulphuric acid, nitric acid, and chlorine, decompose hydriodic acid. They seize upon its hydrogen while the iodine precipitates or exhales in purple vapours. In consequence of this property chlorine is a delicate test of the presence of hydriodic acid, provided it be added cautiously and in small quantity. For an excess of it dissolves the iodine before it has time to precipitate, or to colour the liquid. Hydriodic acid is decomposed and the iodine evolved by peroxide of iron, black oxide of manganese, red and brown oxides of lead, and, in short, all the substances which produce chlorine when digested with muriatic acid.

Hydriodic acid combines with the different bases, and forms a class of salts called *hydriodates*, which we shall describe in a subsequent part of this article.

(4.) *Iodide of azote.* Iodine cannot be made to unite directly with azotic gas; but the compound is easily formed indirectly. It was discovered by M. Courtois, and its properties first accurately examined by M. Colin. Nothing more is necessary than to put a quantity of iodine in fine powder into liquid ammonia. A brownish black powder is speedily formed, which is the iodide of azote. In this case the ammonia is decomposed, its hydrogen uniting to iodine forms hydriodic acid, while its azote combining with another portion of the same substance constitutes the iodide

in question. Iodide of azote is a very volatile substance; if it be left in an open vessel it speedily disappears. It detonates with great violence when touched, and even sometimes spontaneously; so that it cannot with propriety be preserved. This compound cannot be decomposed directly; but if we suppose it a compound of one atom azote, and three atoms iodine, as is probable from analogy, then its constituents will be by weight 1 azote and 25.98 iodine.

II. The metals at present known amount to about 38. But of these there is a considerable number which can hardly be procured in a state proper for experimenting upon. Others are so scarce, or the preparation of them so tedious and troublesome, that but few chemists have them in their possession. Hence it happens, that the iodides of a small number of the metals only have been hitherto examined. We shall give an account of all of these substances at present known.

(1.) *Iodide of gold.* No accounts have been published respecting this compound; but we have found, that if gold be long exposed to the vapour of iodine in a glass tube it gradually loses its colour, and becomes tarnished on the surface. Hence there can be no doubt that such an iodide exists.

(2.) *Iodide of platinum.* When hydriodic acid is poured into a solution of platinum the liquid assumes a brown colour, and its surface is speedily covered with a brilliant metallic plate. Whether this covering be an iodide of platinum, or merely the metal reduced, has not been ascertained.

(3.) *Iodide of silver.* When silver foil is heated nearly to redness, and the vapour of iodine passed over it, an iodide is formed which has a red colour, and melts when exposed to a low red heat. When this substance is heated with hydrate of potash it is decomposed, and hydriodic acid and oxide of silver are formed. This iodide is composed of 1 part by weight of silver and 1.13 of iodine.

(4.) *Iodide of mercury.* Iodine and mercury combine in two proportions. The compounds are easily formed merely by putting the two constituents in the proper proportions in contact; they unite of themselves and form the iodide wanted. One of these iodides is a compound of one atom of mercury and one atom of iodine, while the other contains two atoms of iodine united to one atom of mercury. The first of these has a yellow colour, the second is red. The first is a compound of 100 mercury by weight, and 62.4 iodine; while the second, which is a biniodide, contains 100 mercury and 124.8 iodine. Both of these iodides are volatile. The colour of the biniodide of mercury is extremely beautiful.

(5.) *Iodide of copper.* This substance has been formed, but scarcely examined. We should expect from analogy two iodides of copper; because that metal is capable of forming two oxides.

(6.) *Iodide of iron.* When iron is heated in contact with vapour of iodine a combination readily takes place. It has a reddish brown colour, and is decomposed by hydrate of potash; but readily combines with ammonia without undergoing any decomposition.

(7.) *Iodide of tin.* When tin and iodine are heated in contact in a glass tube they speedily unite, and form an orange yellow transparent compound. When thrown into water this iodide is decomposed, hydriodic acid is formed, and oxide of tin precipitates. Hence this iodide furnishes us with an easy method of obtaining tolerably pure hydriodic acid. We say *tolerably pure*, because we believe that a small portion of oxide of tin constantly remains in solution.

(8.) *Iodide of lead.* Lead readily unites with iodine when heated with it in a glass tube. The iodide is orange coloured, and has been but superficially examined. It is insoluble in water, and does not, like the iodide of tin, decompose that liquid.

(9.) *Iodide of zinc.* Zinc readily combines with iodine and forms an iodide, which has a white colour, melts easily, and sublimes in the state of four-sided acicular prisms. This iodide dissolves readily in water without the evolution of any gas. The solution does not crystallize. The iodide of zinc may be formed under water, and when the two constituents are present in the requisite proportions the liquid remains colourless. This circumstance enabled Gay-Lussac to determine with precision the proportion in which the two constituents of this iodide combine. He found it composed of 100 iodine and 26.225 zinc. Now as zinc combines with only one dose of oxygen, there can be no doubt that its iodide is a compound of extra iodine and 1 atom zinc. Hence we have the weight of an atom of zinc to that of an atom of iodine as 26.225 to 100. But an atom of zinc weighs 4.095; therefore an atom of iodine must weigh 15.614. This weight is of great importance, as it gives us the proportion in which iodine enters into compounds. The weight of an atom of oxygen is reckoned 1. We know from the ratio of the weights of these two bodies, that 15.614 times as much iodine is necessary to form an iodide as of oxygen to form an analogous oxide.

(10.) *Iodide of bismuth.* Iodine readily combines with bismuth, though the properties of this iodide have scarcely been examined. It does not decompose water.

(11.) *Iodide of antimony.* This compound very much resembles the iodide of tin. Like that body it is readily soluble in

water, and when the solution is heated oxide of antimony precipitates, and hydriodic acid remains in solution. We might therefore employ iodide of antimony to prepare hydriodic acid, if we were not in possession of better methods.

(12.) *Iodide of potassium.* Potassium burns when placed in the vapour of iodine with a pale blue flame, and a compound is formed which easily melts and sublimes. On cooling it assumes a pearly and crystalline appearance. It is soluble in water, and the solution is transparent and colourless.

The iodides of sodium, barium, calcium, magnesium, and one or two others, have been likewise obtained; but as they exhibit no very striking properties we shall not swell this article with a particular description of them. Some of their general properties, however, will be noticed as we proceed.

It is easy from theory to determine the weight of the different constituents of the iodides, and as this determination is of considerable importance, and greatly facilitates the formation of the different iodides, we shall here subjoin a Table exhibiting the composition of those iodides which we have described.

	Iodine.	Base.	Iodine.	Base.
Iodide of phosphorus	15.614	1.598	100	9.770
Biniodide of phosphorus ..	31.228	1.598	100	5.117
Iodide of sulphur	15.614	2.000	100	12.80
Hydriodic acid	15.614	0.132	100	0.84
Iodide of azote	46.842	1.803	100	3.85
Iodide of gold	15.614	24.838	100	159.06
Iodide of platinum	15.614	12.161	100	77.88
Iodide of silver	15.614	13.714	100	87.82
Iodide of mercury	15.614	25.000	100	160.11
Biniodide of mercury	31.228	25.000	100	80.05
Iodide of copper	15.614	8.000	100	51.23
Iodide of iron	15.614	7.113	100	45.73
Iodide of tin	15.614	14.705	100	94.17
Iodide of lead	15.614	25.974	100	166.35
Iodide of linox	15.614	4.095	100	26.22
Iodide of bismuth	15.614	8.994	100	57.60
Iodide of antimony	15.614	11.249	100	72.04
Iodide of potassium	15.614	5.000	100	32.016

III. Before we proceed any farther, it will be proper to describe the *hydriodates*, or the saline compounds formed by the union of hydriodic acid with the different bases. Several of these have

a very close resemblance to the analogous *iodides*. Nor is it unlikely, that in certain cases iodides only are formed, the hydriodic acid being decomposed, its hydrogen uniting with the oxygen of the base, while the iodine and the metal thus set free unite together and constitute an iodide. But this department of chemistry must for some time to come remain in a great measure conjectural, as we are at present acquainted with no method of making these elementary decompositions obvious to the senses.

(1.) *Hydriodate of potash*. It seems at present doubtful whether this salt exists. Potash dissolves readily in hydriodic acid. But when we attempt to crystallize the solution, we obtain nothing but crystals of iodide of potassium. We may suppose, if we please, that while the salt is in solution it is in the state of hydriodate; but that it cannot be separated from the water without losing its hydrogen and oxygen, and being converted into an iodide. This salt, if it exist, is composed of

Hydriodic acid	100.000
Potash	37.426

(2.) *Hydriodate of soda*. Hydriodic acid dissolves soda readily, and the salt by evaporation is obtained in flat, striated, rhomboidal crystals. It contains a great deal of water of crystallization, and at the same time is very deliquescent. At the temperature of 57°, 100 parts of water dissolve 173 parts of this salt. When dried it gives out oxygen, and is converted into iodide of sodium; 100 parts of it thus treated give out, according to Gay-Lussac, 24.45 of oxygen. Hence it is composed of

Hydriodic acid	100. "
Soda	24.728

(3.) *Hydriodate of barytes*. This salt crystallizes in fine prisms which have a good deal of resemblance to the crystals of muriate of strontian. When long exposed to the air it is partly decomposed. A portion of the hydriodic acid is converted into iodine and water by the action of the oxygen of the atmosphere. This iodine is gradually dissipated. Hence, if the salt be dissolved in water, a portion of carbonate of barytes remains behind undissolved. This hydriodate is very soluble in water, yet it is but faintly deliquescent. When heated to redness it is converted into *iodide of barium*. During this process water is formed; but no oxygen gas is evolved. This salt is composed of

Hydriodic acid	100.000
Barytes	60.622

(4.) *Hydriodate of strontian.* This salt is very soluble in water. It crystallizes when its solution is properly concentrated by evaporation; but the shape of its crystals has not been determined. At a red heat it is converted into an iodide of strontium, precisely like the hydriodate of barytes.

(5.) *Hydriodate of lime* is likewise very soluble in water, and very deliquescent. The figure of its crystal has not been determined. A pretty high temperature is necessary to fuse it, whereas the hydriodate of strontian melts at a low red heat.

(6.) *Hydriodate of ammonia* is formed by the union of equal volumes of hydriodic acid and ammoniacal gas. It crystallizes in cubes; it is nearly as volatile as sal ammoniac. In close vessels it sublimes unaltered; but in the open air it is partly decomposed.

(7.) *Hydriodate of magnesia* is deliquescent, and crystallizes with difficulty. When heated to redness the acid is driven off, and the magnesia remains behind in a state of purity.

(8.) *Hydriodates of glucina, yttria, and zirconia*, were formed by Sir Humphry Davy by dissolving these earths in hydriodic acid. Hydriodate of glucina is less soluble in water, and has a more astringent taste than muriate of glucina. When heated in the open air, the acid is entirely driven off. The hydriodate of yttria is more soluble and highly astringent; that of zirconia is astringent, with more bitterness. Both these salts are decomposed at a low red heat, the acid being driven off, while the earth remains behind.

(9.) *Hydriodate of zinc* is easily obtained by putting iodine into water with an excess of zinc, and favouring their action by heat. The salt is very deliquescent, and has not yet been obtained in the state of crystals. Heat first deprives it of its water, then melts it, and sublimes it in fine prismatic crystals similar to those obtained when antimony is oxydized. If this experiment be performed in close vessels no decomposition takes place; but in the open air iodine is disengaged, and oxide of zinc remains. It must be understood, however, that by this sublimation it is converted into iodide of zinc. This salt is composed of

Hydriodic acid	100.000
Oxide of zinc	32.352

(10.) When a solution of hydriodate of potash or soda is poured into liquid salts of manganese, nickel, and cobalt, no precipitate appears. Hence it appears to follow, that the hydriodates of these metals are soluble in water; but when the same salt is mixed with saline solutions of copper, lead, mercury, silver, and bismuth, precipitates fall which seem to be iodides of these respective metals. Hence it is doubtful whether hydriodic

acid be capable of uniting with the oxides of their metals. It is more probable that when the two substances come in contact water is formed and an iodide.

All the hydriodates have the property of dissolving iodine, and of acquiring a deep reddish brown colour; but the iodine is easily separated again, either by boiling the liquid or by exposing it to the air.

IV. We have now described the compounds which iodine forms with the simple combustibles and metals, as far as the nature of these compounds has been hitherto determined; but iodine has the property likewise of combining with the simple supporters of combustion, and of forming compounds which deserve to be known. There are two simple supporters of combustion besides iodine; namely, chlorine and oxygen. Let us consider the compounds which it forms with each of these bodies.

When iodine is sublimed in chlorine gas it absorbs a considerable quantity of that elastic fluid, and forms a compound of a bright yellow colour. When fused it becomes of a deep orange, and in the state of vapour from the action of heat it has likewise a deep orange colour. Sir Humphry Davy, to whom we are indebted for our knowledge of this compound, has given it the name of chlorionic acid. In one experiment he found that eight grains of iodine absorbed $5\frac{1}{4}$ cubic inches of chlorine gas. In another experiment 20 grains of iodine absorbed 9.6 cubic inches of chlorine gas. These two experiments do not agree with each other; but in the first a little water was admitted into the retort, in order to dissolve the chlorionic acid formed; while no water was admitted in the second experiment. This liquid doubtless facilitated the absorption of the chlorine gas. Davy concludes from these experiments that chlorionic acid is composed of one atom of iodine, and one atom of chlorine. But the first of them which ought to be the most accurate of the two approaches more nearly to a compound of 1 atom iodine, and 2 atoms chlorine.

Chlorionic acid dissolves in water without any effervescence; hence we have no evidence that hydrionic acid and euchlorine are formed. Indeed the coexistence of these two bodies in the same liquid is impossible; for euchlorine immediately decomposes hydrionic acid and precipitates iodine. We have every reason therefore to consider this compound, even when dissolved in water, as a true combination of iodine and chlorine. Now it possesses strong acid properties; hence the reason of giving it the name of chlorionic acid.

Chlorionic acid has the property of dissolving considerable portions of iodine, and it becomes, in consequence, much deeper coloured. When dilute chlorionic acid is agitated in chlorine gas the liquid becomes colourless.

There is no reason for believing, from any experiments hitherto made, that chlorionic acid is capable of combining with the different saline bases and forming salts. When it is mixed with solution of potash, or any other base, it appears to be always decomposed, and salts are produced containing acids of a different nature. This renders chlorionic acid a compound of comparatively little importance. In a theoretical point of view, however, it deserves the attention of chemists. It is a curious fact, that the supporters of combustion are capable, not only of uniting with the simple combustibles, but with each other.

Gay-Lussac has given to this acid the name *chloruret of iodine*; and he considers it as a mixture of hydriodic acid and iodic acid. But his name is objectionable, and ought not to be followed by others. If it were a mere mixture of two acids, it would be absurd to call such a mixture a chloruret. If it be a peculiar acid, as we conceive it to be, the name chloruret is still more objectionable and absurd. Indeed Gay-Lussac seems to be exceedingly partial to names ending in *uret*. He gives the appellation of *ioduret* to all the *iodides*. His object seems to be to prop up some of the weakest and least tenable parts of the Lavoisierian hypothesis. Names ending in *uret* are given only to combinations of the simple combustibles and metals with each other, and cannot therefore without introducing confusion be extended to combinations of supporters with combustibles. But to apply them likewise to combinations of supporters with each other, is flying directly in the face of all the rules of chemical nomenclature.

V. Iodine cannot be united directly to oxygen; but the compound may be formed indirectly. The phenomena which we are going to describe were first observed by Davy. They were afterwards examined by Gay-Lussac, and his view of the subject is the one which we mean to follow, because it seems more agreeable to chemical analogy than the opinions entertained upon this subject by Davy.

A solution of potash in water readily dissolves iodine in considerable quantity. The solution remains colourless, unless an excess of iodine be present; in which case it assumes a reddish brown colour. It is not easy to saturate the alkali with iodine; for by keeping the solution the reddish brown colour will be found to disappear, and the liquid will still give a green colour to vegetable blues. Hence it will be requisite to add iodine more than once after the alkali appears at first saturated with it. If the potash solution was concentrated, a white matter in small grains precipitates, when a certain quantity of iodine has been added; and the quantity of this precipitate increases as the saturation proceeds. If the liquid be evaporated it yields crystals; but they are of a different nature from the original white precipi-

tate. In order to obtain this precipitate in a state of purity it must be digested in alcohol, which has the property of dissolving any of the matter of the other crystal with which it may be mixed, but does not affect the pure precipitate itself. This precipitate is a salt of a peculiar nature. When thrown upon burning coals it deflagrates like nitre, but not so strongly. When heated to redness it gives out oxygen, and there remains behind a quantity of iodide of potassium; so that it is quite analogous to the hyperoxymuriate of potash or chlorate of potash. Now Gay-Lussac considers this salt as a compound of potash, and an acid combination of iodine and oxygen, to which he gives the name of *iodic acid*; so that the salt itself is an *iodate of potash*. The crystals obtained by evaporating the liquid consist of hydriodate of potash, or of iodide of potassium, if it be supposed that no hydriodate of potash exists. Thus it appears, that the phenomena which take place when iodine is dissolved in solution of potash, are precisely of the same nature as those which occur when chlorine gas is made to pass through the same solution.

Such is the evidence for the existence of *iodic acid*. It has not yet been obtained in a separate state, but it is considered to exist in the detonating salt obtained by dissolving iodine in potash, and in the whole class of analogous salts which may be procured either by similar solutions, or by double decomposition. Let us, therefore, proceed to describe such of the iodates as have been hitherto examined.

(1.) *Iodate of potash*. This salt may be obtained in small cubes. It deflagrates on burning coals like nitre; it is not altered by exposure to the air. At the temperature of 60° 100 parts of water dissolve 7.43 of this salt. Iodate of potash has very little taste. By the assistance of heat it may be dissolved in nitric, sulphuric, and phosphoric acids. These solutions when saturated congeal, and form crystalline substances, which have an intensely acid taste. When these solutions are strongly heated the iodate is decomposed, iodine being given out. In phosphorous acid the salt dissolves without decomposition, but on heating the solution the phosphorous acid absorbs oxygen, and is converted into phosphoric acid, and iodine is evolved. When the salt is dissolved in muriatic acid an effervescence takes place, chlorine is disengaged, and chloronic acid formed. Acetic and oxalic acids dissolve the iodate without decomposition.

When iodate of potash is exposed to a dull red heat its oxygen is driven off, and iodide of potassium remains behind. From the experiments of Gay-Lussac, it appears that 100 parts of iodate of potash, when thus treated, yield

Oxygen	22.59
Iodide of potassium	77.41
	<hr/>
	100.00

But we have seen already that iodide of potassium is composed of

Iodine	100
Potassium	32

Therefore the 77.41 of iodide of potassium are composed of

Iodine	58.65
Potassium	18.76
	<hr/>
	77.41

The 18.76 of potassium require 3.75 of oxygen to convert them into potash. There remain $22.59 - 3.75 = 18.84$ of oxygen, which must have been in combination with the 58.65 of iodine, and have converted it into iodic acid. Therefore iodic acid must be composed of

Iodine	100	311.30
Oxygen	32.12	100

Or one atom of iodine and 5 atoms of oxygen.

(2.) *Iodate of soda.* This salt may be prepared by the same process as the preceding. It crystallizes in small prisms usually united in tufts. It has but little taste. 100 parts of water, at the temperature of 60° , dissolve 7.3 of this salt. When thrown upon burning coals it deflagrates like nitre; while, at the same time, some iodine is disengaged. When decomposed by heat 100 parts of it give out 24.432 of oxygen gas; the residuum is iodide of sodium. Hence the salt is composed of

Oxygen.	24.432
Iodide of sodium	75.568

100.000

When the solution of iodine in soda, from which the preceding salt was obtained, is evaporated, beautiful hexahedral prisms are deposited, which have an alkaline taste and convert vegetable blues into green. They deflagrate upon burning coals and therefore contain iodic acid. We must therefore consider them as a subiodate of soda. This salt is very soluble in water, and contains a great deal of water of crystallization.

(3.) *Iodate of ammonia.* This salt is obtained when ammonia is mixed with a solution of chlorionic acid in water: it crystallizes

in small grains. When thrown upon burning coals it deflagrates with a hissing noise. When heated it is decomposed, and a mixture of oxygen gas and azotic gas is disengaged. It is composed, according to the calculation of Gay-Lussac, of

Iodic acid	100.00
Ammonia	10.94

(4.) *Iodate of barytes.* This salt is easily obtained by dissolving iodine in barytes water, or by mixing the solution of iodate of potash with a barytes salt. It precipitates in powder which is obtained pure after being several times washed. While drying it concretes into lumps, and becomes mealy. It cannot be freed from its water of crystallization by being dried in the temperature of 212° . It is the least soluble of all the iodates; 100 parts of boiling water dissolve only 0.16 of it, and 100 parts of water at 60° dissolve only 0.03. When heated it gives out water, oxygen gas, and iodine; and barytes remains behind in a state of purity. When thrown on burning coals it does not deflagrate, but gives out now and then a weak light. This must be ascribed, chiefly at least, to the infusibility of the salt. It is composed of

Iodic acid	100.00
Barytes	46.34

(5.) *Iodate of strontian.* This salt may be obtained by the same process as the preceding salt. It crystallizes in small octahedrons. 100 parts of water, at 212° , dissolve 0.73 of it, and at 60° , 0.24. When heated it gives out water, oxygen gas, and iodine, while strontian remains behind in a state of purity.

(6.) *Iodate of lime* is usually in the state of powder; but it may be obtained crystallized in small four-sided prisms by dissolving it in hydriodic acid, and evaporating the solution. 100 parts of water, at 212° , dissolve 0.98 of this salt, and at 60° , 0.22. Its water of crystallization, according to Gay-Lussac, amounts to 3 per cent. When heated sufficiently, it is decomposed precisely in the same manner as the iodates of barytes and strontian.

(7.) Few of the other *iodates* have been examined. The following are all the facts at present known on the subject. When nitrate of silver and iodate of potash are mixed, iodate of silver falls in the state of a white precipitate, which dissolves very readily in ammonia. Oxide of zinc being digested in chlorionic acid, forms a pulverulent salt which deflagrates on burning coals, and is therefore an iodate of zinc. Salts of lead, mercury, iron, bismuth, and copper, when mixed with iodate of potash, furnish precipitates consisting of the iodates of the respective metals.

The solutions of manganese, and of peroxide of mercury, yield no precipitates when thus treated.

VI. Such are the properties of iodine, and such the compounds which it forms with the simple combustibles and the simple supporters of combustion. We have still to notice some curious combinations which it forms with the compound combustibles.

(1.) *Hydriodic ether*. This curious compound was discovered by Gay-Lussac. He mixed together equal measures of absolute alcohol and hydriodic acid of the specific gravity 1.7, and distilled the mixture in a water-bath. He obtained an alcoholic liquor perfectly neutral, colourless, and limpid, which, when mixed with water, became muddy, and let fall in small globules a liquid at first milky, but which became gradually transparent. This liquid is hydriodic ether. What remained in the retort was hydriodic acid coloured with iodine.

Hydriodic ether, when well washed in water, is perfectly neutral. It has a strong peculiar odour, analogous to that of the other ethers. After some days it acquires a red colour, which does not increase in intensity. Its specific gravity is 1.9206. It boils at the temperature of $148^{\circ} 5$. It is not inflammable; but when poured on burning coals exhales a purple vapour. Potassium may be kept in it without alteration. Neither potash, nitric acid, chlorine, or sulphurous acid, produce any immediate change in it. When passed through a red-hot tube it is decomposed. The products are, an inflammable gas, hydriodic acid, and charcoal. This ether has not been analyzed; but if we consider it as analogous to muriatic ether, it will be a compound of two volumes of hydriodic acid gas, and one volume of vapour of alcohol. On this supposition it is composed, by weight, of

Acid	100.00	.
Alcohol	18.55	

(2.) *Iodide of starch*. This compound was first formed by MM. Colin and Gaultier de Claubry, who have published a detailed description of it. If starch and iodine be triturated together in a mortar they speedily combine, and the colour of the compound varies according to the proportion of the ingredients. If the starch exceed, the colour is reddish; if the iodine be in excess, the colour is black; but it is of a beautiful blue when the ingredients are united in the requisite proportions to saturate each other. This blue neutral compound may always be obtained with ease by dissolving the iodide formed by trituration in potash, and precipitating by a vegetable acid. When this compound is boiled for some time in water, a colourless evolution is obtained, part of the iodine being driven off; but if iodine be added to

the solution, or if the water evaporated be poured back again, the blue colour is restored. This iodide is soluble likewise in alkalies, and the solution is colourless; but it is immediately precipitated of its natural blue colour, if an acid be poured into the alkaline solution. The acids dissolve this iodide without destroying the blue colour, unless they be sufficiently concentrated and powerful to decompose the starch. Heat does not alter the iodide of starch, unless it be sufficiently high to decompose the starch. In that case a quantity of hydriodic acid is formed.

VII. It now only remains to mention the different methods that have been contrived to detect the presence of iodine when present in small quantity in saline solutions. It has the property of corroding metals, and especially of blackening silver more powerfully than any other body at present known. It was this property that led to its original discovery in kelp. Sir Humphry Davy employed its property of blackening silver as a method of detecting it in the solutions of the ashes of different sea-weeds.

When sulphuric acid is poured upon a dry salt containing iodine, a reddish brown liquid is obtained. This is a good method of detecting the presence of iodine in salts.

But the most delicate re-agent for iodine, according to Stro-meyer, is starch. When this substance is put into a liquid containing iodine in a state of liberty, it detects the presence of so small a quantity as $\frac{1}{100,000}$ part, by the blue colour which it forms. But he has given us no directions of the method of using this re-agent.

Such is a pretty full detail of the properties of iodine, and of the compounds which it forms with other bodies. If the reader has paid sufficient attention to the properties which we have described, he will be able, without difficulty, not only to appreciate the long details into which some chemists have entered; but even to foretell the action of iodine on those bodies which we have omitted to notice. So that the theory of this curious body may be looked upon as almost complete.

ART. XVII.—*The White Doe of Rylstone: or, the Fate of the Nortons: a Poem.* By William Wordsworth. pp. 162. 4to. London. Longman and Co.

IT is usually thought a recommendation of any poem to say, that it is popular. But are the most popular poems always those

which essentially deserve the distinction? We are bold enough to doubt of this, and to suspect that a genuine poet who has high aspirings, and who looks to that mental elevation, that inward sense of moral dignity, and that enthusiasm of sentiment and taste, which accompanies his labours, as their great reward,—who looks to the soothing of his common-life anxieties and the visions of his pillow, as among the privileges of his sublime vocation, will be apt to distrust a popularity too rapidly and easily acquired.

Pure poetry is in fact a mystery to the million, and may without any impeachment of its excellence be unintelligible to the sciolist in belles lettres and the drawing-room critic, or fail to amuse or strike the superficial multitude. I banish *you*, said Coriolanus to the Roman rabble: and so the poet may exclaim when driven into temporary exile by the light-minded, and those who float, as it were, upon the surface of society. Among men who have drunk of the well of knowledge, how few are there to whom the muse has opened those recesses of her precious repository which contain the furniture of a poet's mind.

The popular feeling is now, however, more just than at the period which has been styled the English Augustan Age: and although it can scarcely be considered in its highest possible state of improvement, as likely to become favourable to poetry, purely imaginative or philosophical; yet it is encouraging to perceive that the French rules of criticism, which resembled the figure-gardening in the *Spectator*, and which threatened to reduce all English poetry to a polished and featureless mannerism, has gradually been superseded by one more vigorous and more national. Goldsmith set an example of original sentiment; of ease, and nature, and tenderness. Glover exhibited in his *Leonidas* the simple outline of an ancient statue. Cowper has, as it were, crept into the bosom confidence of half his countrymen. The cold brilliancy of Darwin's mere material poetry dazzled for a while; but its gleam was that of an *ignis fatuus*. General taste has, upon the whole, within this last half century, been simplified, purified, and invigorated. Men have begun to be weaned from the persuasion that poetry is something necessarily striking and dazzling, and epigrammatic, and antithetical, squared and balanced by rule and measure, and made up of established periphrases, conventional phrases, and traditional metaphors; forming altogether a sort of poetic cypher; a symbolical diction as unlike as possible to the language immemorially spoken by men and women and children. They have begun to give up the expectation that every word and line in poetry must be essentially different from prose; to perceive that to call a line flat

or lagging is sometimes the dictate of an inflexible and prejudiced ear, not knowing or not considering that poetry has its reliefs as well as painting. They have begun to admit that poetry, like prose, must have her moods of relaxation; her easy moments; her bye-passages and resting-places: to discover, in short, that poetry is not a being of mere artifice, moving in buckram and sparkling with embroidery; but that, like the mountain shepherdess, she searches the woods and the meadows for her fairest and freshest ornaments, assumes all the changing colours, and follows all the vagrant varieties of primitive nature: "MILLE habet ornatus; mille decenter habet."

The turbulent era of the French revolution, bringing with it a succession of gigantic and astounding events, roused the spirits of men to a pitch of unnatural excitement. Literature, for ever operated upon by external causes, and poetry more especially, caught the contagion. Goblin novels, infidel and obscene, ballads of witchcraft, and tales of wonder and of terror, came like a cloud upon us, and "darkened all the land" of genius.

At length a poet, truly deserving that name, conceived the project of gratifying this appetite for stimulating novelties by resorting to the times of border heroism, and exhibiting the rude characters and picturesque manners of that gallant age in the new and striking form of lyrical epopœia: recommended also by a singular strength and distinctness in the representation of sensible objects, by an animating impetuosity in the description of busy action, and a boldness and relief in the display of individual character, scarcely exceeded since the time of Homer. A similar experiment has been tried with respect to eastern manners: and that, too, with a peculiarity of powers which may claim the honour of invention; with much of wildness and of melancholy, much of thought and of sentiment. These productions, though open to many exceptions, have done good, independently of the example afforded of a daring poetic spirit, by diffusing a taste for poetical reading among all classes; by recalling conversation from insipid trifling, and disposing it to critical discussion. But the result has, perhaps, been injurious to the moral value of poetry, and perhaps to its interests in general. The sublimations of a spiritual philosophy; the pure ideal of the imagination; the fine and ethereal essence of feeling, are disregarded with a coarse and vulgar contempt as visionary obscurities: admiration is reserved for the dazzle and the bustle of adventure; for incidents so arranged as to embrace the complicated interest of a novel; and for characters in which a capricious and incongruous mixture of virtues and vices, which never did and never could meet and mingle in the self-same human being, are conceived in a

spirit of forced and overstrained enthusiasm, and applied to pamper the outrageous craving of a diseased and insatiable appetite for distortion and eccentricity.

In attempting to interest mankind in a species of poetry composed of mere simple elements, Mr. Wordsworth has had to contend with the prejudices of two descriptions of readers. Those who, accustomed to the refined language of Pope or the smooth couplets of Hayley and Rogers, cry out on a common or trivial expression or a loose line, as if they had made a notable detection of poetic insufficiency; and those who, aware of the natural variety and relief of these occasional softenings of tone, yet expect a certain supernatural vehemence of passion; a rapidity of detail; a stirring and hurrying excitement; a constant 'darkening of the gloomy and illuminating of the splendid.' Neither the ballad character of the poem before us, nor the quiet and passive fortitude and meek sympathy which are its object, will stand the touchstone of artificial criticism, or float on the breath of popular applause. It is a song fitted to a calmer and better age, and a less sophisticated audience: such as might have reckoned among its hearers a Spenser and a Sydney. It might be said of it, in the language of the Arcadian, "Behold! he cometh to you with a tale which holdeth children from play, and old men from the chimney corner." Yet, after all, we cannot let Mr. Wordsworth escape from our hands without correction. His extreme love of simplicity has sometimes betrayed him into affectation, and by affectation he has been carried into excess. Sometimes we discern in his compositions an inverted labour—a studious departure from grace, and a fastidious disclaim of cultivation; as if ease implied the absence of ornament, and nature delighted in discord. It is to be regretted that Mr. Wordsworth, with his powers of harmony and delicate apprehension of metrical beauty, should ever forget that, however grave or sublime, affecting or noble the sentiment, if it pretend to array itself in verse, it must adopt its characteristic embellishments, or sink below the level of prose.

The historical part of the poem is grounded on the great northern insurrection in the twelfth year of Elizabeth, 1509; which forms the subject of one of the ballads in Dr. Percy's collection, entitled "The Rising in the North." The Duke of Norfolk had been committed to the Tower by Elizabeth, on the discovery of a negotiation for marrying him with Mary, Queen of Scots, in which several of the English nobility were implicated: and the Earl of Northumberland, on being commanded to repair to the English court, took up arms, on the plea of settling the succession of the crown, and restoring the ancient religion. His standard-bearer was Richard Norton, whose sons,

with the exception of the eldest, marched at his side; and on the banner were embroidered the cross and the five wounds of Christ. They entered Durham, and with a zeal of catholicity which would have refreshed the heart of Dr. Drumgoolee, *trampled on the Bible*, and heard mass. They then proceeded towards London, but were obliged to follow the example of a certain nameless king of France, and having marched up the hill, to march down again. On a retrograde movement occasioned by the difficulty of supplies, Westmoreland's men slunk away, and Northumberland, hearing of the advance of the Earl of Sussex, disbanded his levies, and with the other leaders escaped into Scotland. Norton, however, according to the old ballad, laying siege to Barnard Castle, entered it with his eight sons by escalade; but not being followed, they were overpowered by the garrison within, taken, and executed. With this event Mr. Wordsworth has connected a local tradition recorded in Dr. Whitaker's history of the Deanery of Craven; that about the time of this insurrection being quashed, "a white doe long continued to make a weekly pilgrimage from Rylstone over the falls of Bolton, and was constantly found in the abbey church-yard during divine service, after the close of which she returned home as regularly as the rest of the congregation."

The old gentleman with his thumb-screw zeal and his paganized Christianity is obviously not much entitled to our condolence. The characters in which the interest of the poem is absorbed are those of his daughter and his eldest son, who had been educated by their mother in the purer faith of the reformed religion; the one a beautiful emblem of Christian meekness and resignation, the other a no less affecting instance of Christian courage in the difficult task of braving even a father's scorn, and submitting to the unworthiest imputations from a clear and intrepid sense of duty.

Francis, though he has the fortitude to dissuade his father from this ill-digested and hot-brained enterprise, and to refuse to lift a sword in the cause, attends him to the field unarmed. When all has failed, he still clings to him. The heart of old Norton is softened at the magnanimity of his son; and feeling his ruling superstition 'strong in death,' he confides to Francis, as the condition of his blessing and forgiveness, the charge of placing the consecrated banner on the shrine of St. Mary in Bolton Priory. This charge Francis accepts; wrests the standard from a soldier who was bearing it in mockery before the prisoners as they went to the scaffold, and, protected by the sympathy of the crowd, bears it off in safety; but is pursued by horsemen and cut down. The desolate state of his sister; her estrangement from home after falling on her brother's grave; her melancholy, her recognition

by the doe, which had become wild since the dispersion of the family in which it was reared; and the gradually soothing effects which this renewed companionship produces, are naturally and pathetically told. The young lady, however, pines away: and it is to her grave that the doe repairs in its sabbath pilgrimage.

A moment ends the fervent din
And all is hush'd without and within;
For though the priest more tranquilly
Recites the holy liturgy,
The only voice which you can hear
Is the river murmuring near.
When soft!—the dusky trees between
And down the path through the open green,
Where is no living thing to be seen;
And through yon gateway, where is found
Beneath the arch with ivy bound
Free entrance to the church-yard ground;
And right across the verdant sod
Towards the very house of God;
—Comes gliding in with lovely gleam,
Comes gliding in serene and slow
Soft and silent as a dream,
A solitary Doe!
White she is as lilly of June,
And beauteous as the silver moon,
When out of sight the clouds are driven
And she is left alone in heaven.—

What harmonious pensive changes
Wait upon her as she ranges
Round and through this pile of state,
Overthrown and desolate!
Now a step or two her way
Is through space of open day,
Where th' enamour'd sunny light
Brightens her that was so bright:
Now doth a delicate shadow fall,
Falls upon her like a breath;
From some lofty arch or wall
As she passes underneath:
Now some gloomy nook partakes
Of the glory that she makes:
High-ribb'd vault of stone, or cell
With perfect cunning framed as well
Of stone and ivy, and the spread
Of the elder's bushy head:
Some jealous and forbidding cell
That doth the living stars repell,
And where no flower hath leave to dwell.

The different conjectures of those who pass the church-yard

respecting the visit and the nature of this creature, as put into the mouth of the old soldier, the great lady, and the Oxford scholar, are characteristic and poetically imagined: but we must limit our extracts. The following passage from the interview between Francis and Emily, will exemplify Mr. Wordsworth's peculiar power of conveying to the mind a still and deep impression of sadness.

For thee, for thee, is left the sense
Of trial past without offence
To God or man: such innocence,
Such consolation, and th' excess
Of an unmerited distress;
In that thy very strength must lie:—
Oh sister!—I could prophecy!
The time is come that rings the knell
Of all we lov'd and lov'd so well:—
For we must fall, both we and ours:—
This mansion and these pleasant bowers,
Walks, pools and arbours, homestead, hall;—
Our fate is theirs; will reach them all:
The young horse must forsake his manger,
And learn to glory in a stranger:
The hawk forget his perch—the hound
Be parted from his ancient ground:
The blast will sweep us all away;
One desolation, one decay.
And e'en this creature; which words saying
He pointed to a lovely Doe,
A few steps distant feeding, straying;
Fair creature, and more white than snow!
E'en she will to her peaceful woods
Return, and to her murmur'ing floods;
And be in heart and soul the same
She was before she hither came;
Ere she had learn'd to love us all,
Herself belov'd in Rylstone Hall.

We think the poem should have ended with the following lines:

But chiefly by that single grave,
That one sequester'd hillock green,
The pensive visitant is seen.

The additional stanza is stiff and affected:

And aye, methinks, this hoary pile,
Subdued by outrage and decay,
Looks down upon her with a smile:
A gracious smile, that seems to say,
"Then, thou art not a child of Time,
But daughter of th' eternal prime."

At the end of the volume is a ballad, entitled "The Force of Prayer," or the Founding of Bolton Priory." There is little to warrant the former title. A lady built the Priory on her son being drowned in the river wharf, while leaping with his greyhound in a leash across "the strid,"—a chasm between rocks. Time brought with it resignation: "slowly did her succour come:" but the "force of prayer" would lead us to expect something out of the common routine of things; and the disappointment gives a flatness to the close of the ballad. It had better have been called simply "the Founding of Bolton Priory."

"The White Doe" is prefaced by a beautiful poem in the octave measure, addressed to the author's wife. We select a few lines illustrative of the high order of moral faculties which this writer possesses, and prophetic, as we think, of the durability of this his legendary tale:

He serves the muses erringly and ill
Whose aim is pleasure light and fugitive:
Oh that my mind were equal to fulfill
The comprehensive mandate which they give!
Vain aspiration of an earnest will!
Yet in this moral strain a power may live.

ART. XVIII. AMERICA.

1. *Memoirs of the Philadelphia Society for promoting Agriculture; containing Communications on various Subjects in Husbandry and rural Affairs.* Vol. I.—III. Philadelphia, 1808—1814.
2. *A Geological Account of the United States; comprehending a short Description of their Animal, Vegetable, and Mineral Productions, Antiquities, and Curiosities.* By James Mease, M. D. &c. 12mo. Philadelphia, 1807.
3. *The Picture of Philadelphia, giving an Account of its Origin, Increase, and Improvements in Arts, Sciences, Manufactures, Commerce, and Revenue, &c.* By James Mease, M. D. 12mo. Philadelphia, 1811.
4. *Travels through Canada, and the United States of North America, in the Years 1806, 1807, and 1808. To which are added, Biographical Notices and Anecdotes of some of the leading Characters in the United States.* By John Lambert. 2 vols. 8vo. Second Edition. London, 1814.

WE have classed these articles together, because from the consideration of their contents, as well as from some information of which we happen to be possessed, we think we can furnish our

readers with some important facts relative to the internal state of the American Union, not generally known on this side of the Atlantic; but which are not the less necessary to be known, as they will show the progress of improvement in that rising country. It would be unreasonable to expect from us a critical examination of the works, whose titles stand at the head of this article: the American agricultural writers are plain matter-of-fact men, little solicitous about elegance of style or expression in their practical communications. This circumstance will account for the appearance of such words as *progressing*, *grades*, *testing*, and the like, which do not sound very harmoniously to the chastised ear of a well educated Englishman.

For the authenticity of the details contained in the articles to which Dr. Mease's name is affixed, his own respectability will sufficiently vouch: and, although the dates of his publications are not very recent, yet, in the present dearth of *correct* information relative to the United States, the facts which they exhibit will not be deemed unimportant, and particularly those concerning Philadelphia, one of the three principal cities in the American Union. Of Mr. Lambert, we have only to observe that he is an intelligent traveller, who has diligently availed himself of the opportunities of obtaining information which were offered to him. His first volume, which it does not now fall within our plan to notice, presents an entertaining account of our most important colony, Canada: the second volume, to which we shall occasionally refer, *ostensibly* treats of the United States in general, but is in fact chiefly confined to a description of the provinces of New England and Carolina. Of the immense tract of country lying between these states, he saw and has described but little, having proceeded from New York to Charleston by sea, and having returned from the latter place by the same mode of conveyance. To the praise of candour and impartiality he is justly entitled: and without any predilection for the Americans, either nationally or individually, he is solicitous to awaken the attention of Englishmen to a due sense of the growing importance of the United States,—“a country,” he remarks, “whose *real* state and condition are almost as little known as those of Canada; and the manners and disposition of whose inhabitants are seldom viewed but through the false medium of popular prejudice. Whatever truth there may have been in the accounts given of the United States by *former* writers, they present at this day but imperfect or distorted pictures of its inhabitants. Those who have not seen the United States for the last twenty years, would be astonished at the alteration that has taken place. No country, perhaps, has ever increased in population and wealth, or risen into importance among other nations, with a more rapid progress. Within the space of thirty years they have emerged from

the obscurity of colonies into the rank of independent states; governed by a constitution altogether novel in the present times, but which, whatever defects it may contain, has proved the source of all their prosperity. The people of England are too apt to hold the character of the Americans in trifling estimation; but, when it is known that their country is fast approaching to importance—that their imports and exports already amount to *one half* of those of Great Britain, while their annual expenditure is not a *twentieth*, and their national debt not a *fortieth* part of ours, we cannot avoid giving them our meed of admiration.” Most fervently do we hope that the two nations, so closely allied by language and by blood, will henceforth cease to indulge blind and acrimonious prejudices against each other, and will endeavour to cultivate the blessings of peace, instead of standing constantly in the frowning attitude of mutual jealousy.

Our observations on the United States will present themselves under the following heads: viz. 1. Agriculture; 2. Manufactures; 3. Commerce; and, 4. Internal Navigation, Roads, and Bridges.

1. *Agriculture*.—From the immense extent of country which they embrace, extending at least thirteen hundred miles in one direction, and upwards of fourteen hundred in another, the United States comprise almost every variety of climate, soil, and productions. And hence it is, that while the native plants of burning Africa flourish in the sandy soils of the South, the plants and animals of Lapland are found on the mossy hills of the northern districts.

Not less than three fourths of the American population are engaged in agriculture, who, in the Northern and Middle States, pursue, with some local modifications, the various methods of cultivation employed by our British farmers. Some districts, as New England and Vermont, are best adapted for grazing; while others, as in Pennsylvania, are equally adapted to the plough and the pail. In the last-mentioned state, great care is bestowed on the formation of meadows; the soil of which, being alluvial, yields very abundant crops of grass, without any other manure than that which is dropped by the cattle grazing on them. The meadows on the rivers Delaware and Schuylkill, are stated to be not surpassed by any in the world for the luxuriance of their indigenous grasses. The formation of societies for the promotion of agriculture has greatly contributed to improve that of the United States; and the societies established at New-York, Boston, Philadelphia, and other places, have particularly distinguished themselves by the utility of their publications.

The number of native grasses is great; and their nourishing qualities are evinced by the size and number of the cattle which are annually brought from the thickly timbered forests of the new

land. The most remarkable of these are the following :—In the Northern and Middle States the *poa viridis*, or green sward-grass, is particularly valued for its abundance and succulence. It is nearly allied to the *poa angustifolia* of Linnæus; and such is its tendency to take possession of rich ground, that, if the meadows on the Delaware be ploughed and sown with grain and clover seeds, the green grass will smother the clover after the first year. In the inexhaustible mellow soil of the peninsula between the Delaware and Schuylkill, and on the banks of those rivers, *three crops* of this grass may be cut *every year*, and from two to three tons per acre may be obtained at each cutting: further, it has this peculiar quality, that it continues unaffected by frost, so that, after the artificial grasses are killed for the season, this excellent grass continues to flourish, and even to acquire a new relish by the operation of the cold. Cattle, therefore, continue to fatten upon it, while those who depend upon clover and other artificial grasses, are obliged either to kill their stock, or to resort to the expensive measure of keeping them on hay to prevent their falling off. For a long time it was supposed to be peculiar to low soils; but for some years past it has been successfully cultivated on upland soils, which, when duly prepared, are found perfectly congenial to it. As the culture of this species of natural grass has greatly contributed, among other causes, to enrich the state of Pennsylvania, we conceive it might be advantageously introduced into our own country, especially as the climates of the two regions are so nearly alike.

The *herd-grass* (the *agrostis stricta* of Willdenow) is particularly adapted to wet low grounds; it mats and consolidates the surface, and continues in the ground for many years, excluding every other grass and *all weeds*. Many worthless swampy spots in the low parts of the state of New Jersey have been rendered valuable grazing grounds by this grass; loaded waggons having passed over places which, a few years before it was sown on them, would scarcely admit an animal to walk over them without sinking. It produces excellent hay, and cattle are said to prefer it to that made either of clover or timothy grass. Four tons per acre are a common crop; it does not, however, yield a second crop, but affords excellent late and early pasture.

Fiorin, of which an ample account was given in a former volume of our Review*, has been successfully introduced into America. We have not observed any material facts in the volumes before us, that furnish any information in addition to that which we have already communicated; but all the American experiments in its culture tend to prove its prolific qualities and abundant produce. *White clover* is, undoubtedly, a native plant of the United States;

* See British Review, vol. i. p. 145—160.

in every part of America the ground is spontaneously covered with this grass, which frequently grows with a luxuriance that art can rarely equal in Europe. The Southern States of the Union are not less favoured by Providence with excellent native grasses. The principal of these are the crab-grass and the water-oat.

The *crab-grass* or *crop-grass* (*Syntherisma præcox, serotina, et villosa*) promises to be a valuable acquisition to our West India Islands: it bears one or two cuttings during the season, and attains the height of two or three feet. It makes its appearance in the latter end of April and the beginning of May, with the crops which are then advancing, and does not mature itself until the latter end of the summer, about the time the crops are made. Hence it was called *crop-grass*, and, by adulteration, *crab-grass*. In good high land, or where it has been manured, this grass comes up thickly without being sown; and from the little attention it requires, as well as from the excellence of its fodder, it is the grass most extensively cultivated in Carolina. To the southern planter it is stated to be "a real blessing:" the quantity it produces on good ground is truly astonishing; and in one of the volumes now under consideration, a well authenticated instance is given, in which one man cut off so much of this grass per acre, that, with all the advantages of a warm sun, the hay could not be made on the ground which had produced it*.

The *water-oat* (*Zizania aquatica*) grows on the borders of fresh water rivers where tides flow, and makes an excellent fodder when cut green. The Indians of Canada, it is well known, carefully collect the seeds of this plant, which they make into bread. In South Carolina and Georgia, the appearance of the water-oat is always indicative of good land. Some experiments, we believe, have been made by the venerable President of the Royal Society, in the rearing of this grass; the introduction of which was strenuously recommended a few years since, particularly for Ireland, where there are many extensive lakes that appear well suited for the purpose. As a substitute for rice in our new settlements in the southern hemisphere, where the climate is too cold for that grain, it should seem to be a very desirable acquisition; and might be sown in the morasses and swamps that always abound in thinly inhabited countries, and which require more labour to drain than new establishments can afford.

Among the artificial grasses reared in the United States, we find all those usually cultivated in this country; but red clover is the most important of all. It was introduced into Pennsylvania nearly seventy years since, but excited little attention until twenty years afterwards, when its vegetative power was discovered to be

* Geological Account of the United States, p. 222.

increased to an almost incredible degree by the apparently magical effects of gypsum *. Since that time it has become an essential article in the rotation of crops of the last-mentioned state, and has diffused more substantial wealth than would have resulted from the discovery of a gold mine. The cultivation of this grass is spreading through the neighbouring states; though it does not appear to be a favourite among the planters of Maryland and Virginia, who prefer raising the precarious tobacco-plant, or repeated crops of wheat or Indian corn.

For the varieties of grain, the United States are indebted to the other quarters of the world, with the exception of the water-oat. But though they cannot boast of originating those necessary articles, we may justly assign to them the praise of having improved the qualities of those kinds which have been introduced, and of producing from them varieties superior, perhaps, in point of quality, to any in the known world †. The excellency of American flour has long been acknowledged; and the rice of the Southern States will bear a comparison with any in the world. Tobacco is a staple article of Virginia, as cotton is of the Southern States. At one time, a considerable quantity of silk was raised in South Carolina and Georgia; but it has since given place to the more lucrative productions of cotton and rice. The soil and climate of those states are allowed to be well adapted to the raising of silk. Mulberry trees grow spontaneously in various places; and native silk worms, producing well-formed cocoons, are often found in the woods.

The following information relative to the varieties of cotton

* Immense quantities of this valuable manure have for many years been imported into the United States from the Bay of Fundy. It is, however, found in various parts of the country in considerable abundance, but especially on the eastern bank of the Cayuga Lake, where there is a bed thirteen miles in extent, and at the termination of the rapids of the outlet of Lake Seneca, whence it is transported by land and water carriage over a very extensive tract of country. In the third volume of the Philadelphia Agricultural Society's *Memoirs*, Sir H. Davy's account of this valuable manure is pretty severely criticised by one of its members, Judge Peters.

† In the Appendix to Vol. I. of the *Memoirs of the Philadelphia Agricultural Society* is an interesting paper, by Mr. Joseph Cooper, entitled "*Change of Seed not necessary to prevent degeneracy.*" Although this communication is stated to have been "already published in the United States and in Europe," yet it has not before occurred to us: it is, indeed, so curious and important, that we regret that we cannot insert it entire. Let it suffice to state that, from forty years experience, Mr. Cooper combats the generally received opinion, that change of seed is necessary to prevent it from degenerating. Could this be fairly established, it would be most desirable information to the husbandman; and though Mr. Cooper's assertions are unquestionably contrary to agricultural experience, at least in this country, yet we cannot but admit that his recommendation to the farmer, "to select seeds or roots for planting or sowing, from such vegetables as come to the greatest perfection, in the soil which he cultivates," is a probable, if not the sure means, of attaining the end desired. *Mem. of Phil. Soc. Vol. I. Appendix*, pp. 12—17.

cultivated in the United States, is new to us, and will probably be equally novel to our readers.

"The cotton of the United States may be ranged in three classes, viz. *nankeen*, *green seed*, and *black seed* cotton. Nankeen cotton is principally grown in the middle and upper country for family use. It is so called from the wool resembling the colour of *nankeen* or *nankin* cloth, which it retains as long as it is worn: it is not in much demand, the white cotton having engrossed the public attention. Were it encouraged, however, cloths might be manufactured from it, perhaps not inferior to those imported from China, it being probable that the cotton is of the same kind; as, from experiments which have been made, nankeens have been manufactured in South Carolina State, of good colour and very strong texture.

"*Green seed* cotton produces a good white wool, adhering much to the seed, and of course with difficulty *ginned*. Its produce is greater, and its maturity is sooner than the black seed, for which reason it is principally cultivated in the upper and middle country; as the seasons of those districts are shorter by several weeks than those of the lower country, and the frosts are more severe.

"*Black seed* cotton is that which is grown in the lower country, and on the sea islands, producing a fine white cotton of silky appearance, very strong, and of good staple. The mode of culture is the same with all these species; and rich high land is the soil on which they are generally planted. In the middle country, however, the high swamp lands produce the *green seed* in great abundance; and some tide lands and salt water marshes (after being reclaimed) in the lower country, have also made excellent crops of this valuable article."—(Geological Account of the United States, pp. 232, 233.)

It is a singular fact with respect to this plant, that the *sea air* is essential to the preservation of the black colour of the seed, as well as to the length and fine quality of the staple; repeated experiments having shown that the seed becomes green, and the quality of the wool diminished when cotton is planted in the upper country. The cotton of the sea coast, especially of South Carolina and Georgia, is the most highly valued, and produces the best prices at the market. The quantity of black seed cotton produced on an acre of land, in a Georgia *sea island*, is stated to be about 200 lbs.; in Carolina from 130 to 150 lbs.; and an acre of upland will yield upwards of 300 lbs. of green seed cotton.

The Southern States have been greatly enriched by the cultivation of this important article, which has been raised to its present extent only within the last twenty years, and succeeded to the unprofitable and unhealthy culture and preparation of indigo; as the planters found, that after their land had ceased to produce a sufficient crop of that plant, the same land would yield an abundant crop of cotton, thus affording them an useful lesson with

respect to the importance of a rotation of crops, while their income was considerably increased.

In South Carolina, "land is originally holden by grant, signed by the respective governors of the state, under seal of the same, conveying an estate of inheritance in free and common soccage; and is attended with no other expense on obtaining the grant than the payment of certain small fees of office. It is inherited by the laws of this state in equal shares, amongst all of the same degree; and if sold, is conveyed by lease and release, feoffment with delivery, or by simple deed, according to a late act of the legislature passed for that purpose. Few lands are holden on lease; or, if they be, the leases are for short terms and on liberal conditions, and in general the lands are possessed and tilled by the rightful owners of the soil.

"The incomes of the planters and farmers are various, ranging from 80,000 to 40 dollars. Very few, however, receive incomes of the magnitude of the former sum. Many receive from 12,000 to 20,000 dollars per annum; but the majority of the planters are only in the annual receipt of from 3,000 to 6,000 dollars. The estates of these latter may be worth from 20,000 to 40,000 dollars. The farmers are on a smaller scale, and their incomes may be said to range between 2,000 and 40 dollars. The best lands in South Carolina, which are tide-swamps, if cultivated, have sold for 170 dollars per acre. In general, however, they sell from 70 to 90 dollars an acre, on a credit of one or two years. Uncultivated tide land sells proportionably lower. Inland swamps, if cultivated, sell at prices between 20 and 50 dollars per acre. Good cotton land has sold in Beaufort district as high as 60 dollars per acre; its value, however, in general, in different parts of the state, is from 6 to 40 dollars; the price depending much on its situation, as that nearest the sea, for instance, is considered the most valuable, and produces the finest cotton. Other high lands sell from one to six dollars an acre, according to their respective situations and conveniences for navigation.

"The buildings are as various as the value of estates, ranging in value between 30,000 and 20 dollars. They are commonly built of wood: some, however, are constructed of brick, though they are principally in the cities and towns. Of late years building has been carried on with spirit throughout the state; and houses of brick and wood erected suitable to the improvement of the manners and comforts of society. The houses are, for the most part, built of one or two stories, according to the taste and abilities of the owner. One peculiarity, however, may be remarked respecting them, which is, that piazzas are generally attached to their southern front, as well for the convenience of walking therein during the day, as for preventing the sun's too great influence on the interior of the house; and the out-offices and kitchens are rarely connected with the principal dwelling, being placed at a distance from it of thirty or forty yards. The houses of the poorest sort of people are made of logs, let into each other at the ends, and their interstices filled up with moss, straw, and clay. The roofs are covered with clap boards.

Their plan is simple, as they consist of only one or two rooms, and the manners of their tenants are equally plain.

"In the lower country cotton and rice are cultivated largely for sale, while Indian corn, cow peas, and long potatoes, are only planted sufficient for the yearly consumption of the settlement; and on many of the tide-swamp rice plantations no provisions but potatoes are planted, their produce being only equal to the support of the plantation for a few months. The rest is supplied by the purchase of Indian corn, brought down the rivers from the middle parts of the state, and also imported from some of the United States.

"In the middle country cotton and Indian corn are principally raised for sale: and the produce of all kinds of grain is so abundant, that there is no want of provision for the support of life. In the upper country tobacco is the principal object for sale; and its inhabitants have lately turned their attention towards the raising of cotton with good prospects of success: wheat and hemp are also raised there for sale, together with horses and stocks of different kinds. Flax is cultivated for the convenience of family concerns. In some parts of the upper country stones and rocks are met with on the summit of ridges; but the lands in culture are seldom so much troubled with them as to render it necessary either to collect them in heaps, or afford materials for building stone walls; the enclosures are therefore generally made of split rails, which being placed on each other in an angular manner, constitute what is called a *worm fence*. In the middle and lower parts of South Carolina the soil is free from rocks and stones, and consists chiefly of swamps, sands, and clay, with a slight intermixture of gravel at intervals.

"The implements of husbandry used in South Carolina are few and simple: they consist of various ploughs, such as the bar-share, shovel, fluke, single coulter, cutter and drill; harrows, hoes, spades, waggons, carts, and sledges. Ploughs are chiefly used in the middle and upper country, where labourers are few, and the soil tenacious and stubborn. In the lower country they are but partially used, although the planters would probably find it their interest to adopt them more generally. In some cases they cultivate a cotton and Indian corn crop by the plough; but they are oftener done with the hoe, which may be considered as the principal instrument of husbandry in the lower country. The spade is used chiefly for ditching and draining the rice lands; but the hoe is used for cultivating them. In some tide and inland plantations, however, where the ground is strong, and has been kept sufficiently dry, ploughs are used with great advantage.

Waggons and sledges are principally used in the middle and upper country; the first for transporting heavy articles to a distance, and the last for drawing wood, rails, and small timber about a settlement. In the lower country, ox carts capable of carrying three or four barrels of rice, are almost solely the mode of land carriage for the rice planters. They are drawn by three or four yoke of oxen, and attended by two or three negro drivers.

"There are upwards of sixteen different grasses indigenous to South Carolina; but in general little attention is paid to the forming of pasture

and meadow lands. The cattle are sent into the woods to graze; and the culture of cotton, rice, and maize, becomes the chief object of the planter and farmer's attention. Some lands in the vicinity of Charleston are, however, converted into fields for mowing, as the high price of hay in that neighbourhood renders this branch of agriculture a profitable business; but the greatest proportion of hay is brought from the northern states in the packet vessels. In general the cattle are fed during winter upon the leaves and blades of the Indian corn, rice-straw, &c. Horses and poultry are fed with the corn, which, together with rice, also forms the principal food of the negroes. The white inhabitants are extremely fond of the corn bruised, and boiled into a pudding, which they call *hominy*. It is eaten with milk, sugar, and butter, and is a favourite dish at breakfast."—(Lambert, vol. ii. pp. 206—211.)

Of the manner in which the farms are cultivated in other states, the volumes now under consideration furnish us with comparatively little intelligence. In the New England and Middle States, oxen are much used for field labour, because they are in every respect cheaper than horses, as they are afterwards profitably fattened for the market. Great numbers of them are exported to Newfoundland, the West Indies, and also to the Southern States; but in South Carolina the work is chiefly performed by slaves, who are subject to all the ill-treatment which is ordinarily inflicted on negroes in the West Indies by the caprice or cruelty of their owners. Yet, where the Africans are well treated, instances of longevity are frequent among them, several having lived to 80, 90, and 100 years. In 1805, a negro woman died in Pennsylvania at the age of 116.

"In Charleston every kind of work is performed by the negroes and people of colour. Those who are unable to give 500 or 600 dollars for a slave, which is the usual price of a good one, generally hire them by the month or year, of people who are in the habit of keeping a number of slaves for that purpose. Many persons obtain a handsome living by letting out their slaves for 6 to 10 dollars per month. They also send them out to sell oysters, fruit, millinery, &c.; or as carmen and porters. The slaves who are brought up to any trade or profession are let out as journeymen, and many of them are so extremely clever and expert, that they are considered worth two or three thousand dollars.

"The slaves in Charleston, employed as domestic servants, or mechanics, are mostly those born in the state; the new negroes from Africa being generally purchased for the plantations in the country. The former have more vices than the latter, and where they are living under persons who have only hired them, they are often lazy and impertinent, and give their employers a great deal of trouble. They conceive they are labouring only for straggers, and are careless in what manner they perform their work. In consequence of the troubles in St. Domingo, a great number of negroes and people of colour have been brought to Charleston by their masters and mistresses. Most of them have been

sold to the Americans, or received their freedom. The women are distinguished from the rest by their coloured handkerchiefs tastily tied about their heads, the smartness of their dress, and long flowing shawls, or muslin handkerchiefs thrown carelessly over their shoulders *à la Française*."—(Lambert, vol. ii. p. 163, 164.)

In the Southern States generally, it is calculated that nearly *one fifth* part of the population consists of negro slaves; but in South Carolina, in 1808, out of a population of 450,000 inhabitants, 200,000 were blacks and mulattos, the remainder being white people. The population of Charleston was computed at 28,000 persons, one fourth of whom only were whites, the rest being negroes and people of colour, the majority of whom were slaves. But it is only in the low swampy parts of the country that the latter are chiefly wanted, and there they far out-number the white population. In the northern parts of the state, we are informed, very few slaves are to be found: the farmers cultivate the ground themselves, with the assistance of their own families; but, towards the sea-coast, it would be impossible, it is said, for the whites to cultivate the swamps and marshes without the aid of negroes.

2. *Manufactures*.—Formerly the United States were indebted to the mother country for almost every article of indispensable use in private life; but since their independence was recognized, their industry has taken a new flight, and most of the articles that minister to the wants or to the comfort of man are now made in abundance, with a view to trade, not to mention the vast scene of household manufacturing which is carried on, and largely contributes to the supply of the community. By far the greater part of the articles made from wool, cotton, and flax, are thus manufactured in private families: they consist principally of coarse cloths, in appearance not unlike our Yorkshire milled coatings, but we are informed much stronger; flannels, cotton-stuffs, and stripes of every description, linen, and mixtures of wool with flax or cotton; to which may be added hats, hosiery, soap, spermaceti, oil, and candles. We state these facts generally from our own knowledge, as the publications before us notice only the manufactures of some of the principal towns. The following particulars, which we have been able to glean, are submitted to the attentive consideration of our readers.

Wool is an article of prime importance, and is now grown in sufficient quantities, not only to supply the consumption at home, but also to enable the Americans to export it. It is not material to ascertain what are the breeds of sheep chiefly reared in the United States; but we happen to know from private correspondence, that Merino or Spanish Sheep have been imported to a great extent; and we have had in our possession samples of Merino

American Wool, three-fourths of American blood, equal in point of fineness to any of similar blood that has been produced in this country. The farmers, generally, are disposing of their country sheep, and supplying themselves with those of the Merino and New Leicester breeds. Many persons in the states of Pennsylvania, New Jersey, New York, and Delaware have Merino flocks, of various blood, from 200 to 900 in number. One person in the state of Kentucky possesses a flock of 5000, which number he proposes to augment gradually till it amounts to 12,000. This however is a peculiar instance, the extensive and fertile meadows of Kentucky presenting a singularly fine opportunity of maintaining them at a cheap rate. Merinos are far from degenerating in the United States, either in the quality or quantity of their fleece. From 7 to 9 lbs. are commonly obtained from a single animal: and in 1813 the American newspapers asserted the produce of some full bloods to amount to 12, 13, 14 and even 18 lbs., a quantity we believe unparalleled in the annals of sheep-shearing.

The suspension of intercourse between Great Britain and America, though it materially affected the commercial interest, gave a very powerful impulse to the manufacture of wool. In this branch New York takes the lead, and the success of its woollen manufacture is chiefly to be attributed to the premiums given by the legislature of that state. The gentlemen of that province who reside on their own estates, all wear superfine broad cloth, commonly made from wool of their own growth; but the quantity made for sale is such that there is no difficulty in procuring it. The quantity of woollen cloth manufactured in the state of New York, in 1810, was, 3,257,812 yards. The profit of the manufacturers is great: for, although a yard of the best cloth costs them only four dollars and fifty-seven cents, every expense included, they demand the price of British broad cloth, which is from twelve to fourteen dollars per yard. The work is done by machinery, to which the powerful agency of steam has been applied in the course of the *present* year. Thus encouraged, the American artists have successfully exerted their ingenuity in simplifying the machinery, for which purpose numbers of patents are annually taken out. At Wilmington, in Delaware, a shearing machine has been constructed, which with ease shears thirty yards in one hour.

In domestic manufacture, the state of Pennsylvania is chiefly distinguished, both for woollen and linen fabrics: and further to encourage this branch of industry, a warehouse was established in 1805 by a company at Philadelphia, for the sale of such articles. The members receive six per cent. per annum on the stock. Money is advanced to mechanics on good notes bearing legal interest, or upon their goods, if required, which are then sold to the best advantage, under the direction of a committee of mana-

gers whose services are gratuitous. When this society was first instituted, it was ascertained that five hundred weavers could not find employ, and were compelled to undertake other work for their subsistence; by the aid thus afforded them *all* are employed. We will mention only one fact more, which will show the rapid progress of manufactures in the United States. In the year 1812, when hostilities commenced between them and Great Britain, the American secretary at war stated to the congress that they could not supply the Indians with blankets. As a refutation of this assertion, an offer was instantly made in Philadelphia to supply fifty pair per week so long as they might be wanted; and the legislature of Massachusetts indignantly offered to supply all the clothing that might be wanted for the new army, from domestic materials.

Cotton, though less extensively manufactured perhaps than wool, is rapidly advancing. At the beginning of the year 1811, there were nearly ninety mills in operation, turning eighty thousand spindles; the number now erected we have not been able to ascertain: but works on the Arkwright principle are erecting in almost every township and county in the United States. Cotton blankets are in common use, and are said to be of very pleasant wear. We apprehend, however, that some time must elapse before the Americans can rival us, either in the quality, or variety of assortment of their cotton goods, and especially of calicoes, for the continental market. At present, if an assortment be wanted at a short notice, they are compelled to apply to the British manufacturer: for although cotton goods can be procured in France, at Rouen for instance, at cheaper rates than we can make them, yet as the French manufacturer has not sufficient variety, the American trader has only one alternative to take,—either to wait for the manufacturing of the articles required, which subjects him to loss of time and of his market, or to come to Britain where his demand can be instantly answered, though necessarily at a higher rate from the higher rates of labour here. But with the energies which we have seen the Americans direct to other branches of manufacture, it is not likely that they will continue to be thus dependent upon the British manufacturer, who will only be able to meet them advantageously on the Continent by exhibiting superior assortments, and affording these at equally low, if not lower prices.

Connected with the two articles of manufacture which we have been considering, is a new fabric invented by Messrs. Shotwell and Kinder at New York, and by them termed *Taurino* cloth. In an interesting communication addressed to the Philadelphia Agricultural Society they state, that, having discovered a method of disengaging the hair of black cattle from the *dandruff* (*dirt*?)

and lime which were left in it, they conceived the idea that a cloth could be made from it which might be applied to many useful purposes; and, notwithstanding the discouragements from many English woollen manufacturers, and many unforeseen difficulties which they had to encounter, they ultimately succeeded in attaining the object of their pursuit. They now make a strong heavy cloth from hair alone, suitable for carpeting and other purposes; and which, if woven rather loose and not much filled, may be used for coarse blankets. By selecting the white and black hair, and leaving the other colours as a third, they can make a neat figured carpet with three colours, without dyeing: and should more colours be required, the red hair can be dyed green, blue, olive, or any dark colour; so that a carpet from hair can be produced, equalling in fancy, and exceeding in durability any that can be made of wool. They have also made excellent coatings of it, calculated for over coats and clothing for labouring people: this has generally a small portion of wool mixed with the hair, *the whole of which (they add) can be afforded at a lower price than any woollen fabrics of an equal quality that can be imported from England.* The carding, spinning, weaving and fulling, are affirmed to be done with a facility equal to those operations in wool.

So actively alive as the Americans are to every appearance of domestic improvement, it is not to be supposed that an invention like this would be suffered to pass unnoticed. Accordingly, we find that a committee of the Society for the promotion of useful arts in the state of New York was appointed, to receive and examine specimens of the Taurino manufacture. The result of their report is, that having examined the said specimens, amounting to four in number,

“They find two of the samples exhibited to consist of one third common wool, and two thirds hair from the tanneries; one sample of one fourth common wool, and three fourths hair; and one of one fifth common wool, and four fifths hair: that they find the whole number of specimens extremely well manufactured, of equal quality and texture, well dyed, and apparently very firm and strong. The committee further report that, from documents accompanying the specimens, it is certain that a cloth equal, if not superior in durability is manufactured from hair alone; and that it is a valuable substitute for felting in the paper manufacture. The committee have satisfied themselves by experiment, that this cloth is not only lighter than that manufactured from wool; but that it has the property of resisting moisture to a much greater degree, and that therefore it is much better calculated for great or over-coats; and further, that, from actual trial, it forms an elegant and much more durable carpeting than wool.”—(Mem. of Phil. Agr. Soc. vol. iii. pp. 403—406.)

Indigo and tobacco have so long been staple articles of manu-

facture, that we scarcely need mention them. *Hemp* is an article of increasing importance, to which the United States have been by no means inattentive, particularly during the long suspension of commercial intercourse. Great quantities are grown in Massachussetts, New York, Kentucky, and other states. Of iron work, they manufacture all the coarser articles, as well as most of their agricultural implements; but for their fine cutlery they are still indebted to England. Their *cut* iron nails are confessedly superior to those forged by British manufacturers. *Copper*, of which metal there are abundant mines in various parts of New Jersey, Pennsylvania, and Maryland, is at this time extensively rolled at New York and Philadelphia; and almost every state possesses one or more wire manufactories. *Wine* of an excellent quality is made by the Swiss colonists on the Ohio; who have hitherto confined their supplies to the states in their own more immediate vicinity; but who have so extended their manufacture, that *this year* they expect to supply the demand of the United Country. *Pot* and *pearl-ash* are articles of great importance. They are made in very considerable quantities, and at comparatively little expense in the new settlements of America, which are greatly benefited by the demands for these articles; and the clearing of lands consequently becomes a profitable concern. Besides supplying the internal demand, many thousand tons are annually exported. The process usually pursued is thus stated by Mr. Lambert:

“ The trees are cut down and burnt; after which the ashes are mixed with lime, and put into several large vats, which stand in rows upon a platform; water is then pumped into them, and after filtering through the lime and ashes, it dribbles out of a spicket into a long trough that is placed in front of the vats for that purpose. The water thus drained becomes a strong lye of a dark brown colour, though it gives the buckets which are continually dipped into it a *yellow tinge*. The lye is then put into large iron boilers, or, as they are more generally called, *potash kettles*. Large fires are made underneath, and the lye is kept boiling for many hours, till it approaches a fine claret colour; after which it is taken out, left to cool, and becomes a solid body, like grey stone, and is called *potash*. The manufacture of *pearl-ashes* differs but little from the other; but these are manufactured with more care, and are afterwards calcined in an oven.

1,000 lbs. of oak ashes will make	111 lbs pot-ash.
1,000 do. of hickory.....	180 lbs. do.
1,000 do. of beech.....	219 lbs. do.
1,000 do. of elm.....	166 lbs. do.
1,000 do. of maple.....	110 lbs. do.

“ The management of the fire influences the product. Labour is well

paid with 700 lbs. of potash from 400 bushels of ashes. The harder and better woods afford the most alkali."—(Lambert, Vol. II. p. 526, 257.)

Maple Sugar is an article of growing demand and increasing value. The maple ranks in the first importance among the forest trees of the United States. The Eastern and Middle States, it has been computed, furnish a sufficient number of maple trees to supply them with the article of sugar. We have before us a specimen of maple sugar, manufactured in 1806, which is in every respect equal to that produced by the sugar cane. The manufacturing of maple sugar is, we believe, carried on most extensively in the state of Vermont, the roads of which are in many parts lined with these useful trees. But the utility of the maple is not confined to the sugar afforded by its juice: it also furnishes a pleasant molasses, an agreeable beer, a strong sound wine, and excellent vinegar; and its timber is highly useful for various mechanical purposes, especially for saddle trees. The following facts relative to the flowing of maple juice are curious, and deserve investigation. The flowing of maple-juice is as completely *locked up* by continued warmth as by frost, and only takes effect by the alternate operation of these agents. Yet the same degrees of heat, even after frost, have not always the same effect. Thus a warm south wind stops the flowing more than a cool north-west wind. In general a bracing wind facilitates the discharge, and a relaxing wind acts to the contrary: whether, or how far, electricity may operate in this case is a question which future inquiries only can determine. The juice flows from all sides of the incision.

Manufactures in *Wood*, in every branch, are carried on to a high degree of perfection, so as amply to supply the entire demand of the United States: they consist chiefly of cabinet ware, and other household furniture, coaches and carriages, and ship-building. For the last, their almost exhaustless forests furnish the requisite supplies of timber; and for cabinet ware the *acer rubrum* or scarlet maple is principally used. When sawed into boards it exhibits a beautifully waving appearance (whence it is frequently termed the *curled* maple); and it makes articles of furniture equal in point of beauty to those manufactured from *satin wood*.

The preceding statement applies to some of the more important articles manufactured in the United States generally. With regard to the state of manufactures in the great towns, Mr. Lambert has communicated but little information. New York he passes in silence. At Boston the principal manufactures are rum, beer, paper-hangings, loaf-sugar, cordage, playing cards, sail-cloth,

wool-cards, spermaceti and tallow candles, and glass; besides cabinet work, coaches, and carriages of every description, hats, shoes, boots, and other articles of domestic use. More satisfactory is the account given by Dr. Mease of the manufactures of Philadelphia, of which the subjoined extract will convey a very favourable idea; although we are assured that it falls very far short of the present state of things in that city.

“ Philadelphia has long been celebrated for her various manufactures, and they have much increased in variety and extent, since the late interruption to our foreign commerce. It would be inconsistent with the nature of this work to enter minutely into this subject; but a general view of them may be given.

“ The various coarser metallic articles, which enter so largely into the wants and business of mankind, are manufactured to a great extent, in a variety of forms, and in a substantial manner. All the various edged tools for mechanics are extensively made; and it may be mentioned as a fact calculated to excite surprise, that our common screw auger, an old and extensively useful instrument, has been recently announced in the British publications, as a capital improvement in mechanics, as it certainly is, and that all attempts by foreign artists to make this instrument durable, have failed.

“ The finer kinds of metals are wrought with neatness and taste. The numerous varieties of tin ware in particular, may be mentioned as worthy of attention. But above all, the working of the precious metals has reached a degree of perfection highly creditable to the artists. Silver plate fully equal to sterling, as to quality and execution, is now made, and the plated wares are superior to those commonly imported in the way of trade. Floor cloths of great variety of patterns, without seams, and the colours bright, hard and durable; various printed cotton stuffs, warranted fast colours; earthen ware, yellow and red, and stone ware are extensively made; experiments show, that ware equal to that of Staffordshire might be manufactured, if workmen could be procured.

“ The supply of excellent patent shot is greater than the demand. All the chemical drugs, and mineral acids of superior quality, are made by several persons: also cards, carding and spinning machines for cotton flax, and wool. Woollen, worsted, and thread hosiery have long given employment to our German citizens: and recently, cotton stockings have been extensively made.

“ Paints of twenty-two different colours, brilliant and durable, are in common use, from native materials; the supply of which is inexhaustible. The chromate of lead, that superb yellow colour, is scarcely equalled by any foreign paint. There are fifteen rope-walks in our vicinity. We no longer depend upon Europe for excellent and handsome paper hangings, or pasteboard, or paper of any kind. The innumerable articles into which leather enters, are neatly and substantially made; the article sadlery forms an immense item in the list. The

leather has greatly improved in quality; the exportation of boots and shoes to the Southern States is great; and to the West Indies, before the interruption to trade, was immense. Morocco leather is extensively manufactured. The superiority of the carriages, either as respects excellence of workmanship, fashion, or finish, has long been acknowledged. The type-foundry of Binny and Ronaldson, supplies nearly all the numerous printing offices in the United States. There are one hundred and two hatters in the city and liberties. Tobacco in every form gives employ to an immense capital. The refined sugar of Philadelphia has long been celebrated: ten refineries are constantly at work. Excellent japanned and pewter ware, muskets, rifles, fowling pieces and pistols are made with great neatness. The cabinet ware is elegant, and with the manufactory of wood, generally, is very extensive. The houses are ornamented with marble of various hues and qualities, from the quarries near Philadelphia.

"Mars Works, at the corner of Ninth and Vine-streets, and on the Ridge road, the property of Oliver Evans, consist of an iron foundry, mould-maker's shop, steam engine manufactory, black-smith's shop, and mill-stone manufactory, and a steam engine used for grinding sundry materials for the use of the works, and for turning and boring heavy cast and wrought iron work. The buildings occupy one hundred and eighty-eight feet front, and about thirty-five workmen are daily employed. They manufacture all cast or wrought iron work, for machinery for mills, for grinding grain, or sawing timber; for forges, rolling and slitting mills, sugar mills, apple mills, bark mills, &c. Pans of all dimensions used by sugar boilers, soap boilers, &c. Screws of all sizes for cotton presses, tobacco presses, paper presses, cast iron gudgeons, and boxes for mills and waggons, carriage boxes, &c. and all kinds of small wheels and machinery for cotton and wool spinning, &c. Mr. Evans also makes steam engines on improved principles, invented and patented by the proprietor, which are more powerful and less complicated, and cheaper than others; requiring less fuel, and not more than one fiftieth part of the coals commonly used. The small one in use at the works is on this improved principle, and is of great use in facilitating the manufactory of others. The proprietor has erected one of his improved steam engines in the town of Pittsburgh, which is employed to drive three pair of large mill-stones with all the machinery for cleaning the grain, elevating, spreading and stirring, and cooling the meal, gathering and bolting, &c. &c. The power is equal to twenty-four horses, and will do as much work as seventy-two horses in twenty-four hours; it would drive five pair of six feet mill-stones, and grind five hundred bushels of wheat in twenty-four hours. All kinds of castings are also made at the Eagle works, on Schuylkill.

"Beer was brewed in Philadelphia for several years before the revolutionary war, and soon after peace the more substantial porter was made by the late Mr. Robert Harc. Until within three or four years, the consumption of that article had greatly increased, and it is now the common table drink of every family in easy circumstances. The quality of it is truly excellent: to say that it is equal to any of London, the usual

standard for excellence, would undervalue it, because as it regards either wholesome qualities or palatableness, it is much superior; no other ingredients entering into the composition than malt, hops, and pure water: and yet to a foreign porter's palate, accustomed to the impression left by the combination of the heterogeneous compound called English malt liquor*, our home brewed stuff will no doubt appear insipid. A fair experiment has shown them, that even so far back as 1790† Philadelphia porter bore the warm climate of Calcutta, and came back uninjured. In 1807, orders were given by the merchants of Calcutta, after tasting some of it taken out as stores, for sixty hogsheads. Within a few years, pale ale of the first quality is brewed, and justly esteemed, being light, sprightly, and free from that bitterness which distinguishes porter. Coleman's deserves particular notice. The quantity of each particular malt liquor brewed in Philadelphia cannot be given, as there is no excise, nor duty upon hops or malt, and if there be no other mode of ascertaining the point, it is to be hoped we shall ever remain ignorant on the subject. Great quantities of porter, ale, and beer, are exported to the other States. The hops are almost entirely brought from New England; much of the barley comes from the same quarter, especially Rhode Island.

"The distilleries of rum, whiskey, and for rectifying, are numerous: and the improvements in the art are general and great. The preparation of gin has become an important business, and its exportation regular and extensive. We still, however, want the knowledge of the peculiar art of giving it that flavour which justly renders the Holland gin so deservedly esteemed. The discovery of the principle upon which this depends, remains for some enterprising American.

"The taste and merit of the mechanics are exhibited in no respect more clearly, than in the general construction of shipping; which commonly sail well, work easily, and are very strong. Various improvements, it is understood, have been introduced, tending to increase their capacity, without diminishing their strength or power of sailing. In the accommodations too, and arrangements for passengers, when built with that view, they are very convenient. Their external appearance is much improved by the skill of that excellent carver, William Rush, who without the advantage of seeing any good models, or having any instruction from great masters, has arrived to much eminence in his art, and is thought to surpass any naval carver in Europe. This is a bold assertion; but the voluntary expression of admiration excited in Europe by his elegant figures, and the opportunities of comparison with the works of Europeans, afforded by commerce, in every part of the world, and even the opinion of British artists, may be adduced in its justification. The striking likeness of Mr. John Adams, late president of the United States, as a head for the frigate bearing his name, and

* It appears from British publications, that owing to the excessive duty upon hops and malt in England, very little of those articles are now used in the manufacture of beer, porter, and ale. The substitutes are tobacco, aloes, liquorice, quassia root, and green vitriol.

† Carey's American Museum, vol. x. p. 7.

of others, from memory alone, are full proofs of the powers of his mind, and the success of his chisel.

"Before the American war, a considerable spirit prevailed for the culture of the silk worm: and a society was established for its encouragement, with a fund for the purchase of the raw material. The common black mulberry was found to answer well for the food of the insect. A filature was also erected under the direction of the society, on the present site of the University in Ninth-street. In one instance, a lady in the vicinity of Philadelphia raised on her father's farm as many worms as produced a piece of silk of more than fifty yards in length; it was manufactured in London, under the care of Dr. Franklin, in 1772.

"The following is a short abstract of the marshal's report of the manufactures in the city and county of Philadelphia.

Looms.....	273	
Spinning-wheels.....	3,648	
Oil Mills.....	3	Dollars.
Carriage makers.....	17	value of work last year, 498,500
Soap and Candle makers....	28	
Glue Manufactures.....	14	
Distilleries.....	18	gallons distilled in 1810, 1283818
Sugar Refineries.....	10	
Rope-walks.....	15	
Potteries.....	16	
Tobacco and Snuff.....	27	
Copper, Brass, and Tin.....	44	
Hatters' Shops.....	102	
Paper Mills.....	7	
Printing Offices.....	51	
Cutlers.....	28	
Gunsmiths.....	10	
Glass works.....	2	

"The above is generally deemed under the actual number of the distilleries, mechanics, and manufacturers."—(Dr. Mease's Picture of Philadelphia, p. 74—80.)

The following abstract exhibits the amount of the annual manufactures, manufacturing establishments, &c. in the state of Pennsylvania, according to the return made by the assistants to the marshal of the district, for the year 1810, the latest return we believe that has yet been printed.

	Dollars.
" Manufactures in flax, hemp, wool, and cotton....	4,279,174
In grain, fruit, &c.....	15,778,424
In leather.....	3,155,967
In lead.....	296,800
In iron.....	5,869,487
In tanneries.....	1,607,804

Manufacturing establishments in cotton, wool, hemp, and flax.....	Dollars. 1,231,031
Hats.....	1,296,346
Paper, &c.....	1,227,766
Miscellaneous	7,883,892
	964,966
	603,113
	<hr/> 9,451,941
	44,194,740 "
	(Mease, p. 80.)

3. *Commerce.*—The information supplied to us under this head is by no means so recent as we could desire, in consequence of the long misunderstanding, subsequent embargo, and actual hostilities between the two countries. Mr. Lambert informs us that

"The commerce of the United States, previous to the embargo, was in the most flourishing state, notwithstanding the depredations said to have been committed upon it by the belligerent powers of Europe, as will appear from the following official documents, laid before the House of Representatives on the 29th February, 1808, by Albert Gallatin, Secretary of the Treasury.

'Exports of the United States, from 1st October, 1806, to 1st October, 1807.

	Dollars.
The goods, wares, and merchandize of domestic growth, or manufacture.....	48,699,592
Do. of foreign growth or manufacture.....	59,643,558
Total Dols.	108,343,150

Recapitulation of the above.

The foreign goods are classed as follows :

1st. Articles free of duty by law.....	2,080,114
2d. Do. liable to duty, and on re-exportation entitled to drawback.....	48,205,943
3d. Do. liable to duty, but no drawback on re-exportation	9,357,501
	<hr/> Dols. 59,643,558

N. B. The duties collected on the 3d class are derived directly from the carrying trade, and amount to Dols. 1,393,877.

The articles of domestic growth or manufacture are arranged as follows :

	Dollars.
1st. Produce of the sea.....	2,804,000
2d. Do. of the forest.....	5,476,000
3d. Do. of agriculture.....	37,832,000
4th. Do. of manufactures	4,409,000
5th. Do. uncertain	179,000
	<hr/>
	Dols. 48,700,000

(Lambert's Travels, Vol. II. p. 489, 490.)

New York is the first city in the United States for wealth, commerce, and population: as it also is the finest and most agreeable for its situation and buildings. It has neither the narrow and confined irregularity of Boston, nor the monotonous regularity of Philadelphia, but a happy medium between both. This city has rapidly improved within the last twenty years; and land, which then sold for fifty dollars, is now worth fifteen hundred.

"The commerce of New York, before the embargo, was in a high state of prosperity and progressive improvement. The merchants traded with almost every part of the world; and though at times they suffered some privations and checks from the belligerent powers of Europe, yet their trade increased, and riches continued to pour in upon them. They grumbled, but nevertheless pursued their prosperous career, and seldom failed in realizing handsome fortunes. What a mortifying stroke, then, was the embargo! a measure which obliged them to commit a sort of *commercial suicide* in order to revenge themselves of a few lawless acts, which might have been easily avoided if the merchants had speculated with more prudence. The amount of tonnage belonging to the port of New York in 1806, was 183,671 tons. And the number of vessels in the harbour on the 25th of December 1807, when the embargo took place, was 537. The moneys collected in New York for the national treasury, on the imports and tonnage, have for several years amounted to one-fourth of the public revenue. In 1806 the sum collected was 6,500,000 dollars, which after deducting the drawbacks left a nett revenue of 4,500,000 dollars; which was paid into the treasury of the United States as the proceeds of one year. In the year 1808, the whole of this immense sum had vanished! In order to show how little the Americans have suffered upon the aggregate from Berlin decrees and orders of council; from French menaces, and British actions; it is only necessary to state, that in 1803 the duties collected at New York scarcely amounted to 4,000,000 of dollars; and that at the period of laying on the embargo, at the close of the year 1807, they amounted to nearly 7,000,000 dollars. After this, it is hardly fair to complain of the violation of neutral rights." (Ibid. p. 74, 75.)

There are five banks at New York, and nine insurance companies; one of the latter was a branch of the Phoenix Company of London. At Philadelphia there are four banks, and eleven insurance companies, one of which al. was a branch of the London Phoenix Company. In consequence of its increase of business, a law was passed in 1810 prohibiting any person or persons not being citizens of the United States, from insuring property in any case within the state, against loss by fire or sea, or upon land transportation of goods. A penalty of five thousand dollars is incurred by any person acting as agent for such foreign insurers. In each of these cities, a chamber of commerce is established, whose object is to promote and regulate mercantile concerns. For the greater security of trade, inspectors are also appointed at both ports, to examine lumber, staves, shingles, beef, and pork, butter, flour and meal, pot and pearl-ashes, and other articles previously to exportation: and persons shipping any of the above articles without such inspection are liable to heavy duties.

The following Table, compiled by Dr. Mease from authentic documents, will convey a favourable idea of the commercial prosperity of Philadelphia.

“ ARRIVALS—The number of square-rigged vessels that entered the			
port in 1771, was		361	
Sloops and schooners.....		391	
		<hr/>	752
In 1786, the total number was			910
1787,			870
1788,			854
1789,			1261
1793,			1050
1797,			1420
1804, ARRIVALS—Foreign		579	
Coasters.....		1220	
		<hr/>	1799
CLEARANCES—Foreign		618	
Coasters.....		1146	
		<hr/>	1764
		<hr/>	3563
1805, ARRIVALS—Foreign		547	
Coasters.....		1169	
		<hr/>	1716
CLEARANCES—Foreign		617	
Coasters.....		1231	
		<hr/>	1848
		<hr/>	3564
1806, ARRIVALS—Foreign		690	
Coasters,		1231	
		<hr/>	1921

CLEARANCES—Foreign		730	
Coasters		1278	
		—	2309
			— 4230
1807, ARRIVALS—Foreign		699	
Coasters		1270	
		—	1969
CLEARANCES—Foreign		712	
Coasters		1231	
		—	1943
			— 3912
1809, ARRIVALS—Foreign		278	
Coasters		1413	
		—	1691
CLEARANCES—(Embargo)			
1810, ARRIVALS—Foreign		514	
Coasters		684	
		—	1198
CLEARANCES—Foreign		497	
Coasters		614	
		—	1111
			— 2309

Exports.

In the year 1790, the total amount of the exports of Philadelphia was	Dollars.	7,953,418
In 1796, it was		17,523,866
1809, the amount of domestic produce exported was	4,238,358	
Foreign	4,810,883	
	—	9,049,241
1810, Domestic	4,751,634	
Foreign	6,241,764	
	—	10,993,398

Tonnage.

In 1771, the total amount of tonnage was	44,654
In 1786—American	31,546
Foreign	28,892
	— 59,938
In 1800, Total	103,663
1810	121,443

“ It was stated to Congress, in February 1811, by a master ship-builder of Philadelphia, that there were then 9,145 tons of shipping on the stocks.

“ The commerce of Philadelphia has kept pace with the progress of the general prosperity of the state; but in common with the whole Union has suffered a considerable diminution, by reason of the vexations from European nations, who for some years past have acted as if power gave right, and by the restrictive measures forced upon our

government. Our merchants are equal to any in the Union for industry and enterprise; but during the uncertainty of trade that has prevailed for some time past, they have observed a prudent caution in their adventures, which has had the effect of lowering the amount of tonnage, when compared with other cities in the United States; but the good effects of such conduct were most striking during the year 1810, when, owing to the uncertainty of the renewal of the charter of the United States' Bank, that great wheel of commercial credit, a very great diminution of bank accommodation necessarily took place: hence, while in other cities of the Union, the greatest distress has been produced, and failures have been numerous and to an immense amount, so few have taken place in Philadelphia as to produce no diminution of that chain of mutual confidence by which commerce is upheld, and cannot fail to confirm the opinion generally entertained of the stability of the mercantile community of Philadelphia.

Prices Current, of Foreign and Domestic Articles, at various Dates.

Thursday, April 7, 1720.	1798 April.	1811 April.
Flour, 8s 6d to 9s per cwt.	32 to 34s	dols. 6 50
White bread, 18s do.	75s	9
Middling bread, 14s do.	45s	7
Brown bread, 11s do.	30s	5 50
Salt, 3s 2d per bushel	7s 6d	55
Tobacco, 14s per cwt.	75s	4 to 10
Muscovado sugar, 30s to 45s 6d per cwt.	120s	12 50
Pork, 45s per barrel.	120 to 142 6	17 to 22
Beef, 30s per do.	90 to 112s 6d	9 to 16
Rum, 3s to 3s 6d per gallon ...	8s 9d to 10s 7d	1
Molasses, 17 to 18d per gallon	4s 6d	45
Wheat, 3s to 3s 3d per bushel	9s	2 25
Indian corn, 1s 8d to 1s 10d per do.	3s 9d	75
Bohea tea, 50s. per lb.	4s 1d	30 to 35 cts.
Madeira wine, 16 to 20l. per pipe	40l. per pipe	60l. stg. p. pi. first cost
Pipe staves, 3l. per thousand ..	55 dols.	77 dols.
Hogshead staves, 45s do.	35	44
Barrel staves, 22s 6d do.	18	32
Pitch 16 to 17s per barrel.	26s 3d	6

" No article in the above list exhibits so great a difference in price as bohea tea. At the date first mentioned its use was confined to a few persons, the greater part of whom had been educated in Europe, and could not abandon the pleasant meal which the article afforded them. It was deemed by many a sinful luxury, and of course pro-

scribed by the bigoted. All of it came by way of England, and was saddled with heavy duties. Bohea tea was, moreover, the only kind of tea then used.”—(Mease’s Pict. of Philadelphia, p. 52—56.)

The State of Vermont is yet a new country, and before the American war was but little settled, especially towards its northern parts. The inhabitants are extremely active and industrious; most of the towns towards Canada have been built within the last twenty years, and almost entirely depend for their existence upon the trade with that country. The southern part of Vermont trades chiefly with New York, Boston, Salem, and the principal ports of New England. Their exports consist of pot and pearl-ashes, salt pork, beef, and fish, horses, oxen, wheat and flour, oak, pine-timber, staves, and other lumber, butter, cheese, MAPLE-SUGAR, &c. The chief articles received from Canada are *salt* and *specie*, so that the balance of trade is greatly in their favour.

“Previously to the revolutionary war the exports of South Carolina amounted, upon an average, to 500,000*l.* sterling, and consisted principally of rice, indigo, tobacco, deer skins, pitch, tar, turpentine, salt provisions, Indian corn, and lumber. During the war agriculture and commerce were both materially injured. The usual supplies of clothing from the mother-country being stopped, manufactories were established; and the negroes were for the most part clothed with mixed cloths of cotton and wool spun and woven for the occasion. Many negroes were taken from agricultural pursuits, as well to assist at these manufactures as to carry on the erection of fortifications and other public works; in consequence of which the articles for exportation naturally decreased, or, when collected, were consumed at home alternately by friends and foes.

“At the conclusion of the war it appeared that the agriculture and commerce of South Carolina had retrograded nearly forty-seven years; the exports of 1783 being scarcely equal to those of 1736. The internal consumption, however, must have been greater, but the loss to the state was the same. Since that period her agriculture and commerce have rapidly augmented, though in some degree counteracted by the partial prohibition of the importation of negroes for several years past, and which was fully carried into execution on the 1st of January 1808. From year to year new prospects have presented themselves; new objects of agriculture have arisen; and the loss of one staple has been supplied by another of superior value: cotton is now the most valuable export of South Carolina.

“Since the French Revolution Charleston has been the medium of the greatest part of that trade which has been carried on between the French West India islands and the mother-country under the neutral flag of the United States. In this manner quantities of cocoa, coffee, sugar, rum, indigo, and other articles, the produce of the French, Spanish, and Dutch possessions in the West Indies and South America, are included in the exports of South Carolina, from the year 1793,

which in time of peace are directly exported from the colonies to the mother country.”—(Lambert, Vol. II. p. 212—214.)

Much of this commerce was abolished by the restrictive decrees of Napoleon, and our own Orders in council, for which, as our readers well know, the Americans retaliated by a general embargo. Charleston, however, has been rapidly rising as a trading port since the year 1792: and the following statement of the gross amount and value of rice, indigo, tobacco and cotton, exported from South Carolina to Great Britain and other foreign parts, from 1760 to 1801, will show most satisfactorily the rapid increase of commercial prosperity of that fertile state.

Years.	Barrels of rice.	lbs. weight of indigo.	Hogsheads of tobacco.	lbs. weight of cotton.	Total val. of exports for each year.		
					£	Sterling.	s. d.
1760	100,000	399,366	14	—	256,767	0	0
1761	62,288	249,000	—	—	300,000	0	0
1762	—	—	—	—	508,108	6	10
1768	—	—	—	—	387,114	12	1
1769	—	—	—	—	278,907	14	0
1770	—	—	—	—	420,311	14	8
1771	—	—	—	—	756,000	1	1
1772	140,000	1,107,660	—	—	456,513	8	4
1782	22,224	827 casks	643	—	—	—	—
1783	61,974	2,051 do.	2,680	—	—	—	—
1789	100,000	—	—	—	—	—	—
1792	106,419	839,666 lbs.	5,290	68,520	656,545	5	6
1795	85,670	1,217 casks	4,288	1,109,653	1,316,444	2	0
1799	70,426	6,892 lbs.	9,616	2,801,996	1,964,027	7	6
1800	75,788	3,400 lbs.	7,927	6,425,863	2,374,839	9	0
1801	64,769	8,502 lbs.	5,996	8,801,907	3,218,410	2	6

It would have been more gratifying to us, if our details could have been extended to the other ports of the United States. From the facts, however, which have been stated in the preceding pages, it will be perceived that the Americans are by no means in that retrograde state either in manufactures or in commerce, in which the British nation have sometimes been taught to suppose them, but, on the contrary, that they are in many respects entirely independent of their mother-country.

4. *Internal Improvements, Roads and Bridges.*—The immense facilities afforded to the Americans by internal navigation have greatly contributed to produce the effects above described. Intersected as the country is by vast rivers flowing in almost every direction, and navigable, as many of these are by vessels of various burthens for some hundreds of miles up the interior, from the sea, the Americans have diligently availed themselves of this resource: and, particularly during the continuance of the embargo they interchanged by this mode of conveyance the superfluities of

one state for those of another, and thus supplied their mutual wants without fear of condemnation for carrying on contraband trade.

The formation of canals, to connect the lakes with the principal rivers, is yet in its infancy; but the subject is too important to the welfare of the states, not to be carried into effect when they shall have enjoyed the blessings of a few years' peace. In the third volume of the *Memoirs of the Philadelphia Agricultural Society*, we meet with an interesting paper, illustrated by a map, showing the practicability of effecting a canal between the head of Seneca Lake with Tioga Creek. The length to which the present article has extended, will not allow us to analyse this paper: we must content ourselves with remarking, that, independently of the intermediate commerce which would thus be carried on, if the canal projected on the above mentioned line were to be accomplished, Montreal, which since the year 1808, and prior to the suspension of intercourse, had diverted to itself the trade from New York with the western Country, would thus be deprived of a very important part of her traffic. But let us turn from this subject to what has been actually achieved.

In the year 1790 a scheme was set on foot by some citizens of Philadelphia, to connect the Delaware with the Western Lakes by a chain of inland navigation; and, on their suggestion, commissioners were appointed by law to determine the most eligible route, and to calculate the cost of the intended measure. Two companies were incorporated, in 1791 and 1792, to undertake the work; one, for connecting the Schuylkill and Susquehanna, a distance of seventy-nine miles; and the other for uniting the waters of the Delaware and Schuylkill, along the east bank of the latter river, a distance of sixteen miles, to Norristown. The capital of each company was 400,000 dollars. An eminent engineer from this country was sent for, but in the eagerness of the Americans to have this great work finished, much money was spent before his arrival. Upon a due examination of the ground and work of the Delaware and Schuylkill canal, he reported that the whole might be completed for the sum subscribed: six miles were nearly finished, but the stockholders (it seems) declined to pay their instalments. The work necessarily ceased: the legislature granted a lottery to aid both canals, the second class of which was badly managed; and thus the progress of the scheme was stopped after considerably more than 200,000 dollars had been expended. Undaunted by these impediments, the projectors, in 1811, obtained a law from the legislature, authorizing the two companies to form a junction, and to open a complete canal and lock navigation from one or more points on the river Susquehanna to the tide-water on the Schuylkill, or

Delaware, or both; and also to contract for supplying the city and northern liberties of Philadelphia, and Southwark, with water, and for making both wet and dry docks.

While this act provided justly for the welfare of the individuals who should embark their property in this grand undertaking, the *ultimate benefit of the public* was not forgotten. Accordingly it is enacted, that when the canal shall be completed, the property is to be vested in the company for fifty years; and when the tolls shall exceed 25 per cent. nett annual profit, the excess shall compose a fund for the redemption of the canal, *so as to render it free*. Permission has further been granted to extend the route to Lake Erie, or other waters of any neighbouring state, by canals and lock navigation, or turnpike; and to raise, by lottery, 340,000 dollars as a sinking fund, on which no dividend can be raised. No sooner was this act passed than the scheme was vigorously supported, and is now in a fair way of being executed, principally owing to the *zeal* (we are informed) of a single individual, who embarked a large capital in the undertaking.

The example of Philadelphia has been followed by New York, where a plan has been formed to connect the Hudson, one of the largest and finest rivers in the United States, with the lakes Ontario and Erie. The level was taken over this immense route: to facilitate the work of digging, the inventive genius of Mr. Fulton was called forth; and he is said to have contrived a plan that diminishes the labour to an astonishing extent. What progress has latterly been made in this stupendous undertaking, we have no means at present of informing our readers; but we mention the fact, to show how much alive the Americans are to every internal and national improvement.

The invention of steam-boats is due to the genius of Mr. Fulton; they have long and successfully been employed in navigating the great rivers in every direction. Of the facilities thus afforded to internal intercourse, some idea may be formed, when we state that steam-boats are now regularly passing between Pittsburgh and New Orleans, which accomplish in *three weeks* a voyage that formerly required *two months*. In the course of the year 1814, a steam frigate was commenced at New York, under the direction of Mr. Fulton, for the defence of the American coast; but how far the steam apparatus can be applied with safety to a vessel of war, particularly in the event of an engagement, is a point which experience only can determine.

Bridges, which form so essential a mean of communication in all countries, are by no means neglected in America. The New England States can boast of several of immense size: in Pennsylvania there are few large ones; but they are numerous, and of late years are built mostly of stone, over the creeks and

small streams. The two principal structures of this kind, of which we have any authentic account, are, the bridge at Trenton over the Delaware, thirty miles above Philadelphia, and that over the Schuylkill at Philadelphia; both of which deserve to be particularly mentioned. The former was commenced in May, 1804, and was completed on the 21st of February, 1806; and, including the *wing-walls*, is a quarter of a mile in length, by thirty-six feet in width from out to out. Its architecture is exceedingly ingenious (we regret that our limits do not admit of its description); and it is said to unite the three great objects, *convenience of travelling, strength, and durability*. Nor has its architect, Mr. Burr, wholly disregarded ornament; the access to the bridge, on either side, and through the whole extent of the platform, presents to the traveller a plane without any sensible rising.

Of the Schuylkill Permanent Bridge a desultory but interesting account is appended to Volume 7. of the Memoirs of the Philadelphia Agricultural Society; and as the Americans are indebted for it to the genius of an English engineer (Mr. Weston, of Gainsborough), we shall abridge a few particulars concerning it. On the site now occupied by the permanent bridge, there formerly had been a floating bridge. Its westernmost pier is sunk in a depth of water, unexampled, we believe, in the annals of hydraulic architecture, the top of the rock on which it stands being forty-one feet nine inches below common high tides: both piers were built within coffer-dams. The dam for the western pier was of original and peculiar construction, designed by Mr. Weston. Some idea of its magnitude may be formed, when it is known that 800,000 feet of timber, board-measure, were unavoidably employed in and about it. Every disadvantage to which such difficult undertakings are subject (the rock being in several parts nearly bare, and affording no footing to the piles), opposed the progress of this work, so that it could not be ready for the masonry until the 25th of December, 1802; when the first stone was laid, and the work continued in a severe winter to the height proposed. As the architectural details, though highly interesting, would be unintelligible, without referring to the engraving which illustrates the original description; we shall only remark, that the total length of the bridge which is *covered*, including the abutments and wing walls, is 1300 feet, by 42 in width; the span of the small arches is, each, 150 feet, and that of the middle arch 194 feet 10 inches. This bridge was six years in building, and cost 300,000 dollars, instead of 40,000, as our countryman, Mr. Jansen, erroneously stated in his 'Stranger in America:' for the credit of Englishmen, we could wish that had been the only false statement in his amusing volume. The

truth is, that the purchase of the scite cost 40,000 dollars, *one half* of which was paid to the corporation of Philadelphia *in cash*, and the remainder in bridge-shares.

Turnpike-roads have for many years been common throughout the Northern and Middle States, and are now cutting through the wilderness in various directions. They have contributed greatly to the improvement of the country: for, no sooner is a road opened through the woods, communicating between the greater towns, than the country, which before was a *trackless* forest, becomes settled, and in a few years the borders of the road are lined by habitations. Good inns have, within the last twenty-five years, been established in almost every town and village along the principal roads; and the accommodations of many of them (Mr. Lambert assures us) are equal to those of England. Of that rudeness and familiarity so much complained of by former travellers, he found not the slightest vestige; but experienced the utmost civility, and even politeness, from every class of inhabitants in every part of the country through which he travelled, which (it should be recollected) was chiefly the Eastern, or New England States, and South Carolina. Travellers are not now liable to have a strange man step into their bed, as was formerly the case. During the whole of his tour through the States, he never had occasion to *bundle*, though he was sometimes asked if he wished to have a *single* bed. With the exception of the great national road, which is cutting at the expense of the American government through the woods and over the mountains from Washington to Ohio, the cost of making turnpike roads is defrayed by shares subscribed by a certain number of persons, who form themselves into a company under an act of the legislature. It is a speculation in which few have failed, as the traffic on the road soon increases the value of the capital.

It is to be wished that Canada would imitate the example of her neighbours in this respect. The communication between that province and the United States, on the Vermont side of Lake Champlain, Mr. Lambert found to be very difficult. No regular road had been opened, capable of admitting waggons or carts of any description; a few solitary settlers only had scattered their log huts in different parts of the line between the two territories; but that part of the country was still a dreary and uncomfortable wilderness.

“ We were often obliged,” says Mr. Lambert, “ to pass over bridges actually condemned by the select men at different places, who had put up notices, that they would not be answerable for the necks of those who were hardy enough to venture across; yet these sapient folks had not provided any other route for travellers. This was ab-

solutely the case about a mile or two beyond Burlington. The usual bridge over Onion River had been carried away by the ice, and there was no other way of crossing but by an old bridge condemned several years ago, which stood over a precipice seventy feet deep. It was upwards of four weeks since the other had been destroyed; yet so tardy were the inhabitants, even though their own safety was in question, that no preparations had been made for rebuilding it.

"We got out when we came up with it, and sent the waggon over before us; it even shook with the weight of a single person, and whoever is on it when it falls must inevitably be dashed to pieces. Many bridges that we passed over in several other parts of Vermont were in the same dilapidated state; their very planks started up in our faces, as if to reproach us with treading on them.

"The bad roads and bridges in these parts, I am told, would soon be repaired, if the republican or democratic party did not oppose the turnpike system, which is certainly the only method of remedying the grievance at present so much complained of. It is astonishing also, that with the example of the neighbouring states before them, they still continue so blind to the advantages that are to be derived to their state from facility of communication with distant parts; but, like their brother legislators in Georgia, *economy is their foible*. They conceive that the *sovereign people* ought not to be taxed, even for their own benefit. They would rather that his *hydra-headed* majesty should break one of his many necks, than that they should lose their popularity as *economists*."—(Lambert, Vol. II. p. 515—517.)

Here then we terminate our observations on the present *public* state of the American Union. Our wish has been, neither to exaggerate nor to diminish the real state of things in that country, but to delineate the United States as they really are, rapidly advancing to wealth and power in the scale of nations. The long interruption of our intercourse, now happily terminated, has necessarily deprived us of more recent and more full information, so that our portrait cannot be a finished one. The outline, however, we know to be correct: and, though the details may not perhaps be altogether gratifying in some respects, yet we feel conscious that we have stated nothing but the truth, and in conformity with those principles on which the British Review offers itself to the attention of the public. In the course of our investigations various important reflexions have suggested themselves, on which at present we have not time to enlarge; but, from the premises we have adduced, we leave our readers to draw their own inferences. Before, however, we finally terminate this article, we shall present to our readers a few remarks on the state of private society, which have occurred to us in the prosecution of our inquiries, and the perusal of which may serve to relieve the comparative dryness of the preceding political and commercial accounts.

Those parts of the Northern and Middle States through which Mr. Lambert travelled, have the appearance of old and well-settled countries: the towns and villages are populous; provisions are cheap and abundant; the farms appear in excellent order, and the inhabitants sober, industrious, religious, and happy. Their observance of Sundays is highly exemplary, and presents none of that noise, bustle, and driving about, so common in the streets of London on the Sabbath-day, and which a late eminent prelate has so eloquently described and reprehended*. This strict observance of religious decency disposes a stranger to judge favourably of the moral character of the people: nor has he any reason to alter his opinion, until he hears of so many unfortunate females in the cities, whose appearance plainly indicates that a very considerable relaxation of morals must have taken place in the states. At the same time it must be confessed, that the Americans have relaxed but little from that outward display of piety and devotion, which, though it may not always come from the heart, yet certainly conduces to the good order and well-being of society.

"There is a material difference, in point of character, between the people of the Northern States and those to the Southward; there also exists a considerable spirit of rivalry, jealousy, and opposition between them. The former (speaking in general terms) are a plain, honest, and industrious people; regular in their habits, punctual in their payments, and strongly attached to agricultural and commercial pursuits. Before the embargo, their merchants traded with all the world, and the spirit of commercial enterprise had diffused itself in an extraordinary manner over those states. Their ships covered the ocean, and transported the commodities of their own country, and of other nations, to every quarter of the globe. A considerable share of their exports was furnished by their own portion of the Union; but the greater part was supplied by the Southern States. The latter, however, had but few ships of their own, and cared not who were the carriers, so that they could dispose of their cotton, tobacco, and rice. They would have been equally satisfied to sell their produce to foreigners, and let them take it away in their own vessels, as to sell it to the northern merchants; and it is this sort of policy which is said to guide Mr. Jefferson, Mr. Madison, and others of their party even at this day; but I cannot bring myself to believe that there is any foundation for such an assertion.

"It is true, the southern planter acquires his wealth not by the sweat of his brow like the New Englander, but by the labour of his negroes. He lolls at his ease in the shady retreat, drinking, smoking, or sleeping, surrounded by his slaves and overseers, who furnish him

* Bp. Horsley. See his Sermons, No. 23, pp. 466, et seq. 2d Edition. It were well if the attention of the Legislature could be sufficiently drawn to this great object.

with the luxuries of life, without the necessity of his leaving the piazza. The northern merchant, on the contrary, is strenuously exerting himself from morning till night; exercising his faculties, expanding his mind, and enlarging his ideas by continual intercourse with people of every nation, and correspondence in every part of the globe. The planter is deprived of these opportunities of mixing with the world, and acquiring an extensive knowledge of the interests of states. Hence he supposes, that to raise a crop and sell it sufficiently benefits the country; nor can he conceive what difference it will make, whether it is taken away in a ship of his own nation, or that of a foreign state. He also looks upon the merchant or trader with contempt, as a mere plodding fellow who is making a fortune by his assistance; he even hates him, when by careful industry and economy the merchant can leave off business, and become, by the aid of his superior wealth and abilities, a more important personage in society than himself. Such are, in all probability, the causes which have created the existing spirit of rivalry, jealousy, and opposition, between the Northern and Southern States; and which, if not quickly extirpated, may one day or other occasion a separation of the Union.”—(Lambert, Vol. II. p. 346—348.)

The planters in South Carolina are generally considered as the wealthiest people in the state; this may be true with respect to their landed property and their slaves, but they are not the most monied people: for, except upon their annual crops of rice and cotton, which produce various incomes from 6,000 to 50,000 dollars, they can seldom command a dollar in cash, and are besides continually in debt. Whatever credit the Carolinians may deserve for their “unaffected hospitality, ease of manners, and address,” so flatteringly announced in every edition of Morse’s Geography, the payment of their debts can never be reckoned among their virtues. Persons who have realized property in the Southern States are obliged to revisit them frequently before they can recover their own. A Captain Turner, a fellow-traveller of Mr. Lambert’s, who, on the termination of the American war, had adopted the profession of a dancing-master, had debts owing to him of *twenty years* standing even by parents and their children, whose dancing had never been paid for by either generation.

With such habits of extravagance as characterize the planters of South Carolina, it is not to be supposed that humanity towards their slaves enters into their composition. Several instances of oppression and refined cruelty are related by Mr. Lambert. The planters of Georgia, though generally more economical than those of Carolina, are nevertheless always in debt. They have all the bad but very few of the good qualities of the latter. Gouging and other unfair fighting is equally practised in both states; and individuals of each will frequently *pluck out an eye*,

bite off a nose, or break a jaw with a kick of their foot, for the honour of their respective counties! Gouging, we are told, is performed by twisting the forefinger in a lock of hair near the temple, and turning the eye out of the socket with the thumb-nail, which, it is said, is suffered to grow long for that purpose.

Since Mr. Jefferson took off the duty on spirits, distillation has increased to a very great extent; and the practice of drinking ardent spirits is very general in the Southern States.

Party spirit prevails in a very high degree throughout the Union, and is the cause of those numerous and mostly fatal duels which disgrace the American character. In vain has the legislature of New York made it penal to send challenges or to fight duels: its law is disregarded, and duelling continues. During Mr. Lambert's short residence of six months in the United States, upwards of fourteen duels were fought, and there was not one of them in which the parties were not killed or wounded. Disgraceful and frequent as these are in England, they are far exceeded in number and atrocity in the United States, where young men are in the habit of *training themselves up as duellists*.

In America all are politicians, and every man is a federalist or a democrat: each man takes in a paper that agrees with his politics, or rather directs them. The eagerness of the people for news far surpasses even that of our own country, and upwards of three hundred papers minister to this voracious appetite for novelty. Not being chargeable with any duty, they rarely cost more than 2½d. or 3d. sterling, and about a halfpenny more for the carriage: hence these vehicles of intelligence are accessible to every class of people; and there is scarcely a poor owner of a miserable log hut, who lives on the border of the stage road but has a newspaper left at his door. Since the suspension of intercourse with this country, these papers have contained for the most part advertisements for run-away slaves, or white men, redemptioners, and quack medicines, intermingled with others however which incidentally show the rising wealth and manufactures of the Union. Their quack advertisements exceed in effrontery those which we are accustomed to behold in our provincial papers.

The drinking of toasts at public dinners is a very common method of venting party spleen in America, and of invoking destruction upon their enemies. Long lists of these are published in the papers on the following day, as so many proofs of patriotism and virtue: and the conductors seem to take a pride in showing how brilliantly their partisans can abuse public characters in their cups! It was the violent spirit of party that occasioned the fatal duel between General Hamilton and Colonel Burr, a few years ago.

From these disgusting scenes we turn to subjects more important, as well as more becoming the dignity of rational beings. Education, though in many places still defective from the want of proper encouragement and better teachers, is spreading throughout the Union. In the well settled parts of New England, the children do not want plain and useful instruction; and the girls especially are early initiated in the principles of domestic order and economy. Colleges and schools are multiplying; and at New York a grammar school was instituted a few years since, for the instruction of youth, upon a plan similar to that adopted in our great public schools. The system of tuition, invented by Pestalozzi at Berne, has been transplanted to Philadelphia, with considerable success, by Joseph Neef, formerly a coadjutor of Pestalozzi's; but both in that city, as well as at New York, the new system of teaching, adopted in this country, is prosecuted upon an extensive plan, and still more in the state of Connecticut.

Hence a taste for reading has diffused itself through the northern and middle states, especially in the great towns; but in the southern states, particularly South Carolina and Georgia, literature and the arts receive but little encouragement. Charleston, indeed, possesses a public library, containing about 4000 volumes, chiefly modern; and at New York, besides several respectable private subscription libraries, there is a public library, consisting of about 10,000 volumes, many of them rare and valuable books. Philadelphia can boast of three, besides two large subscription libraries; a Philosophical Society, Linnaean Society, a Medical Society, Medical Lyceum, and a College of Physicians; and a Museum of Natural Curiosities commenced in 1784, to which is attached a collection of paintings, chiefly portraits of individuals who distinguished themselves in the revolutionary war, and of some other eminent characters. An "Athlæneum," or institution for the diffusion of useful knowledge, the arts, sciences, and literature, has *this* year been formed, upon the plan of similar establishments in this country. At New York an Historical Society has long existed, and has given to the American public two volumes of Memoirs, relative to the History of America. At Boston, an Antiquarian Society has this year been formed; and the Historical Society, at the same place, has printed ten volumes of its Memoirs.

The high price of paper, labour, and taxes in this country, has been very favourable to authorship, and the publication of books in America. Foreign publications are also charged with a duty of 13 per cent.; and foreign rags are exempted from all impost. These advantages have greatly facilitated the manufacture of paper and the printing of books in the United States, both which

are now carried on to a very large extent in every part: the type foundry of Philadelphia is a great assistance to the craft. The study of Hebrew is become very fashionable in the United States; and, while we are now writing, a Hebrew Bible, with American types, is, for the first time, printing at Philadelphia. The *original* productions of the Americans are comparatively few; but every English work of celebrity, whatever its size may be, is immediately reprinted in the States, and vended for one-fourth of the original price. The booksellers and printers, especially of New York and Philadelphia, are numerous, and in general men of property. Previously to the establishment of the federal government, the book trade was of small account; but, subsequently to that era, it partook of that life and vigour which the new state of affairs produced. In 1786, four booksellers thought an edition of the New Testament for schools a work of risque, and requiring much consultation before they determined on the measure; yet such was the rapid progress of things, that, in 1790, one of them thought it safe to risk the publication of the *Encyclopædia*, in 18 volumes, 4to. On the publication of the first half volume, in that year, he had but 246 subscribers, and could only procure two or three engravers. By the time he had finished the eighth volume, he found it necessary to reprint the first, and could then with difficulty procure printers for the work. The voluminous *Cyclopædias* of Dr. Rees and Dr. Brewster, are now reprinting with additions and corrections, the former at the expence of *two* individuals. The plates are affirmed to be superior to those in the original editions (but this we doubt), and the typography equally excellent.

For several years past, a literary fair, similar to those of Leipsic and Frankfort, has been held alternately at New York and Philadelphia: this annual meeting has tended greatly to facilitate intercourse with each other, to circulate books throughout the United States, and to encourage and support the arts of printing and paper-making. The number of volumes, annually printed at Philadelphia, is computed at *five hundred thousand*: and in 1811, there were fifty-one printing offices, employing one hundred and fifty-three presses. At the same time, there were upwards of sixty engravers (who we have been assured have generally six months' work in hand;) and Dr. Mease has asserted, that twenty more could find constant employ.—(Picture, p. 87.)

The improvement in the fine Arts has been very considerable, within a few years past: to this, the formation of the "Pennsylvania Academy of the fine Arts," in 1805, and of the "Society of Artists of the United States," in 1810, essentially contributed. Soon after the institution of the latter, an union was effected between the two societies, who have an annual exhibition in the spring, similar to that of our Royal Academy. The catalogue of the

fourth exhibition of this "Columbian Society of Artists and the Pennsylvania Academy," (for 1814) is now on our table. While some few of the pieces exhibited are the works of the great Italian, French, and Flemish Schools, it will be gratifying to our readers to know that many are copies from the productions of our countrymen, particularly the venerable President of the Royal Academy. Not a few are drawn from scenes described by the creative muse of Walter Scott; and the remainder consist either of portraits (which are numerous) or of subjects suggested by the late war between America and Great Britain, particularly their successes on the lakes, which are announced with a degree of pomp that would better agree with the victory of Aboukir, or the glorious fight of Waterloo. Some of the portraits above mentioned have been engraved for an extensive work in the nature of our *Biographia Britannica*, which has been announced by a bookseller of Philadelphia, and of which we have received a specimen, containing some portraits. Of these it is but justice to add, that they are very respectably executed, and present a favourable specimen of American art; and that the memoir of Columbus, which is given as a specimen of the composition and typography, does equal honour to the author and printer.

We pass over various particulars in the "Picture of Philadelphia," which, possessing merely a local importance, would be uninteresting to our readers. There is, however, so much moderation, humanity, and enlightened policy in the penal code of the United States, and particularly in the management of criminals, that we cannot but trespass a little longer on their patience, while we submit to their consideration the chief points of its improvement.

"1. Cleanliness, so intimately connected with morality, is the first thing attended to, previously to any attempts at that internal purification, which it is the object of the discipline to effect. The criminal is washed, his clothes effectually purified and laid aside, and he is clothed in the peculiar habit of the jail, which consists of grey cloth, made by the prisoners, adapted to the season. The attention to this important point is unremitted, during their confinement. Their faces and hands are daily washed; they are shaved, and change their linen once a week, their hair is kept short; and, during the summer, they bathe in a large tub. Their apartments are swept and washed once or twice a week, as required, throughout the year.

"2. Work suitable to the age and capacity of the convicts is assigned, and an account is opened with them. They are charged with their board, clothes, the fine imposed by the state, and expense of prosecution, and credited for their work; at the expiration of the time of servitude, half the amount of the sum, if any, left after deducting the charges, is required by law to be paid to them. As the board is low, the labour constant, and the working hours greater than among me-

chanics, it is easy for the convicts to earn more than the amount of their expenses; so that when they go out, they receive a sum of money sufficient to enable them to pursue a trade, if so disposed, or at least, that will keep them from want, until they find employ, and prevent the necessity of stealing.

"On several occasions, the balance paid to a convict has amounted to more than one hundred dollars: in one instance it was one hundred and fifty dollars: and from ten to forty dollars are commonly paid.—When, from the nature of the work at which the convict has been employed, or his weakness, his labour does not amount to more than the charges against him, and his place of residence is at a distance from Philadelphia, he is furnished with money sufficient to bear his expenses home. The price of boarding is sixteen cents per day, and the general cost of clothes for a year, is nineteen dollars thirty-three cents.

"3. The prisoners lie on the floor, on a blanket, and about thirty sleep in one room; they are strictly prohibited from keeping their clothes on at night. The hours for rising and retiring are announced by a bell; and at those times they go out and come in with the greatest regularity. For their own comfort, they have established a set of rules, respecting cleanliness, on breach of which a fine is exacted. No one is even permitted to spit on the floor. A large lamp is hung up, out of the reach of the prisoners, in every room, which enables the keeper or watch to see every man; and for this purpose a small aperture is made in every door. The end of the cord by which the lamps are suspended, is outside of the rooms: the solitary cells is the punishment for extinguishing these lamps.

"4. Their diet is wholesome, plain and invigorating, and their meals are served up with the greatest regularity and order: a bell announces when they are ready, and all collect at the door leading to the passage where they eat, before any one is allowed to enter. They then take their seats without hurry or confusion; and all begin to eat at the same time. While eating, silence is strictly enjoined by the presence of the keepers, who give notice of the time for rising from table. For breakfast, they have about three fourths of a pound of good bread, with molasses and water. At dinner, half a pound of bread and beef, a bowl of soup and potatoes. Sometimes herrings, in the spring. At supper, corn meal mush [mash?] and molasses, and sometimes boiled rice.

"The blacks eat at a separate table. There is also a table set apart for those who have committed offences for the first time, but not of sufficient enormity to merit the solitary cells; such as indolence, slighting work, impudence, &c. and to such no meat is given. Every one finds his allowance ready on his trencher. The drink is molasses and water, which has been found to be highly useful, as a refreshing draught, and as a medicine. Spirituous liquors or beer never enter the walls of the prison. The cooks and bakers, who are convicts, are allowed thirty cents per day by the inspectors. The decency of deportment, and the expression of content, exhibited by the convicts at their meals, renders a view of them, while eating, highly interesting. No provisions are permitted to be sent to the convicts from without.

" 5. The regularity of their lives almost secures them against disease. A physician, however, is appointed to attend the prison, a room is appropriated for the reception of the sick or hurt, and nurses to attend them. The effect of the new system has been seen in no particular more evidently than in the diminution of disease among the convicts.

" 6. Religious instruction was one of the original remedies prescribed for the great moral disease, which the present penal system is calculated to cure. Divine service is generally performed every Sunday, in a large room appropriated solely for the purpose. Some clergyman or pious layman volunteers his services, and discourses are delivered, suited to the situation and capacities of the audience. The prisoners in the cells are denied this indulgence; good books are likewise distributed among them.

" 7. Corporal punishments are strictly prohibited, whatever offence may have been committed. The keepers carry no weapons, not even a stick. The solitary cells and low diet have on all occasions been found amply sufficient to bring down the most determined spirit, to tame the most hardened villain that ever entered them. Of the truth of this there are striking cases on record. Some veterans in vice, with whom it was necessary to be severe, have declared their preference of death by the gallows, to a further continuance in that place of torment. In the cells, the construction of which renders conversation among those confined in them difficult, the miserable man is left to the greatest of all possible punishments, his own reflections. His food, which consists of only half a pound of bread per day, is given him in the morning; in the course of a few days or weeks the very nature of the being is changed, and there is no instance of any one having given occasion for the infliction of this punishment a second time. Such is the impression which the reports of its effects have left among the convicts, that the very dread of it is sufficient to prevent the frequent commission of those crimes, for which it is the known punishment, as swearing, impudence, rudeness, quarrelling, indolence repeated, or wilful injury to the tools, or to articles of manufacture.

" The fear of the cells is also increased from other causes. The convicts are well acquainted with the general principles of the system pursued; and hearing the grating of the stone saw, or the noise of the nail hammer, they naturally reflect, that while they themselves are idle, their comparatively happy fellow convicts are working out their daily expenses and laying up a sum for themselves, when their period of servitude shall arrive; and that their own confinement in prison must either be prolonged, or that they must redouble their industry after liberation from the cells, to make up for lost time: and above all, that the hopes of pardon, or of a diminished time of service, are cut off by thus incurring the displeasure of the inspectors. Whatever additional reflections occur to them, these alone are sufficiently powerful to prevent a repetition of offences.

" Formerly, all revenue arising from the work of the city and county convicts, was paid to the keeper of the prison, the deficiency for its support being advanced by the commissioners of the county of Phila-

delphia, who collected the monies for the support of the convicts, from the different counties; but by a law passed February 1809, the amount of the work is to be paid to the treasurer of the inspectors, who are also authorised to choose, by the same act, a president and secretary from their own body. All monies are to be paid by the treasurer, upon the orders of the board, signed by the president, and attested by the secretary: his accounts are to be settled every two weeks. He is authorised, in the name of the president of the board, to sue for, and recover all monies due from individuals to the institution. The accounts of the inspectors are settled by three persons, appointed annually, in March, by the court of quarter sessions.

"There are fourteen inspectors, three of whom are elected by the select and common councils in joint meeting, in May and November; two by the commissioners of the Northern Liberties, and two by the commissioners of Southwark, at the same time."—(Mease, p. 165—170.)

The beneficial effects derived from the adoption of this system, and from the abolition of public and severe punishments, have been decidedly manifested in the state of Pennsylvania at large, and especially in the city of Philadelphia; and as the investigation of our prisons, and the system of management adopted in them, have of late years much engaged the attention of benevolent individuals as well as the legislature, we think our readers will be gratified by an outline of the means employed in the above-mentioned city, for the prevention of crime and the reformation of criminals.

"The great causes of vice are idleness, intemperance and evil connections, and as the system pursued admits of none of these, but proceeds upon the principles of industry, sobriety, good example, and other co-operating measures, it must follow from the very constitution of human nature, that unless in the case of hardened and old offenders, and such fortunately are all disposed of, that salutary effects must be produced by the operation of the measures adopted. The criminal knows, and must be convinced, however unwilling to acknowledge the fact, that his sentence is justly inflicted; the nature of this sentence moreover, assures him, that his improvement in morals is the sole object in view, and that vengeance, which some modern European statesmen still think "is the primary object of consideration, the foundation of the penal law," is no part of its intention: hence those angry passions, which the laceration of the body by stripes, cropping ears, and pillor-ing, invariably excite, are restrained, and the whole discipline of the prison is eminently calculated to produce the same conviction, to conduct to the same result. Intercourse between the sexes, that extensive cause of moral contamination, is strictly prohibited; the diet, a powerful agent on the human passions, is moderate and wholesome. Ardent spirits, the great source of his present punishment, are strictly denied him; idleness, the parent of vice, is substituted by regular, constant

labour, except during the short time appropriated to meals and during the hours of sleep: and silence, which naturally produces reflection and attention to duty, is strictly enjoined and enforced. The mild, but firm conduct of the keepers, who never carry weapons, banishes the irritating idea usually attached to such characters, and transforms them into employers superintending their workmen; and lastly the religious counsel which is given on the sabbath, seals the whole, and proves to them that neither the law nor the officers appointed in pursuance of it, have any other object in view than their reformation. The criminal, therefore, makes his calculation, to conduct himself so as to command the good will of the keepers and inspectors, and merit recommendation for a diminution of his time of servitude. This calculation, which all the convicts make, and the justness of which they occasionally see exemplified by the enviable reward being conferred upon the meritorious*, is one of the most powerful motives to good behaviour that could be held out: and if it be doubted whether gratitude for mild and kind treatment, has not some effect in causing obedience to command, and attention to work, facts enough have occurred to show that they are not insensible to the influence of this quality of the mind. On one occasion, an inspector states, that when roused by the harshness of one keeper to make a desperate attempt to escape, they were prevented in part from succeeding, by another whom they respected throwing himself in the way of the door, and whose life would have been sacrificed if they had persisted †.—(Mease, p. 182—184.)

Of the beneficial operation of this system, Dr. Mease has related some very interesting instances, which further tend to show that the persons so confined are not insensible even to the principles of honour and humanity. These, however, our limits will not admit of our inserting. On some future occasion we hope to present to our readers an account of the state of public morals and religion in the United States;—a country, where human nature is exhibited under circumstances widely differing from those we have been accustomed to contemplate, as contributing to form the character of a people,—and which, some centuries hence, may perhaps be destined to be the seat of a most powerful empire. Whatever may be its destiny, it is below the dignity of

* Petitions for pardon, or even for shortening the time of servitude of a criminal, are made with extreme caution by the inspectors.

† An accidental visit to the prison by a humane man, formerly a keeper, has occasioned universal joy among the convicts, who came forward to welcome him. In the fever of 1793, as many convicts offered as were wanted to attend the sick at the city hospital. A man committed for burglary for seven years solicited, and was appointed deputy steward of the hospital: a robber drove the provision cart, during the whole epidemic, and behaved well. They were both pardoned. The women convicts gave up their bedsteads for the use of the sick, and even offered their bedding. See Turnbull's Visit to the Prison.

our own country to view its progress with an eye of jealousy. That national prosperity must be morbid and fugitive which trembles at the prosperity of other States, and calculates its own advancement by a ratio inverse to the moral order of the world. The safe and honourable dependence of this kingdom is on its own internal vigour; and national vigour expresses only the visible results of public and private virtue.

ART. XIX.—*An Essay on the Character and Practical Writings of St. Paul.* By Hannah More. In 2 vols. 8vo pp. 290 and 348. London. Cadell and Davies. 1815.

It has frequently been observed, that the dispensation of the Gospel was committed, in the first instance, to men of no rank or reputation in the world. A few persons were selected from the walks of humble life to be the followers of Jesus Christ; and to them principally was delegated the sacred office of bearing witness to the history of his life, and promulgating the doctrines of salvation. Such was the will of Him, who devised the plan of redemption: such was the determination of infinite Wisdom: as if to prove, beyond the semblance of a doubt, that the power which gave effect to the preaching of the Gospel was the power of God, the foolish things of this world were chosen to confound the wise, and the weak to overturn the mighty.

Yet was not this rule so universally observed as to remain without exception, even in the first ages of the Church. Within two or three years after the ascension of our Lord, there was found in the college of the apostles, a young man of splendid talents and of uncommon attainments. He was ordained to be a special instrument of heaven in extending, far beyond the limits of Judea, the doctrines of the Cross, and in bringing the Gentiles to the fold of Christ.

When we reflect upon the manner in which he was commissioned, and the great end for which he was made a minister of the truth, we must naturally conclude that St. Paul would present a character of singular interest to the members of the Church, in every future period of the world. So intimately is the early history of our religion interwoven with the life and labours of this Apostle of the Gentiles, and so eminent a situation did he hold among those, who were the pillars of the Christian Temple, that an indifference to his name and character would seem to imply a disregard of religion itself. The records of antiquity

furnish many proofs of the marked respect, which in those times was paid to his memory. In addition to the minute history of his labours, which for a certain period is to be found in the New Testament, many particulars have been transmitted to us, which, if not absolutely certain, have a measure of probability; and if they prove nothing else, may at least be admitted to prove the interest excited by his life and doctrines. He is represented as a man of low stature, and inclining to stoop, of a grave countenance and a fair complexion: his eyes are said to have possessed a certain suavity of expression, his nose to have been gracefully aquiline, his forehead nearly bald, his beard thick, and, as he advanced in life, like the hair on his head, somewhat silvered by age. He is derided by Lucian as the high-nosed, bald-pated Galilean. Notwithstanding the abundance of his labours, his constitution is thought to have been infirm, and he is mentioned by Jerome, as much afflicted with the head-ache. Some writers have imagined that he had a defect in his eyes, and that, when speaking, he was apt to fail either in the command of words, or the power of articulation; but these are at the best only vague conjectures. The passages cited from the epistles in support of them are far from conclusive. His bodily presence is, indeed, said to have been weak, and his speech contemptible; but the charge is of little value, as it came from his enemies: it might possibly be true: it might easily be false. That he had some personal infirmity, which was visible to others, and which exposed him to many trials, may be inferred from the epistle to the Galatians: "Ye know how through *infirmity of the flesh*, I preached the Gospel unto you at the first; and *my temptation, which was in the flesh*, ye despised not nor rejected: but received me as an Angel of God, even as Christ Jesus." He doubtless alludes in this place to that thorn in the flesh mentioned in the 2d epistle to the Corinthians. Of its nature we can *know* nothing, for nothing is revealed; and the conjectures of the ancients are of little more account than those of the moderns. The passage, which follows the verses just cited, "I bear you record that, if it had been possible, ye would have plucked out your own eyes, and have given them to me," sufficiently attests the love of the Galatians, but it proves nothing more.

Whatever were the infirmities of this Apostle, he possessed qualities which fitted him for the first station in the Church of Christ, and he was favoured with the peculiar notice and blessing of God. This man of three* cubits in height, as Chrysostom tells us, was tall enough to touch the heavens: his conversation was there, and thence he derived those pure lessons of religion and

* Ὁ τριπηχὺς ἄνθρωπος καὶ τῶν ὕψους ἀπτόμενος. In Petr. et Paul. Serino.

morals, that loftiness of principle, that fervour of feeling, that ardent and inextinguishable hope of immortality, which animated his own conduct, and afforded instruction and consolation to every coming age. No person ever repented of consulting the pages of St. Paul. "They are," as it has been justly stated, "a golden mine, in which the diligent workman, the deeper he digs, the more he will discover: the farther he examines, the more he will find." We believe that few are more fully convinced of the truth of this remark than the pious and elegant writer from whose pen it proceeded. That she has long been intimately conversant with the sacred writings, has studied them in the right spirit, and is deeply imbued with the principles which they contain, will be questioned by few who are acquainted with her former works, and with her exemplary life. It cannot be doubted that she had given a due portion of her time to the Acts of the Apostles and the letters of St. Paul; yet we feel a strong persuasion that, in composing the volume now to be examined, many new views were presented to her notice, many new rays broke in upon her mind; and while she looked with increasing admiration upon the character of the man, she looked also with proportionate delight to the grace of God that was in him: while she beheld more distinctly the suitableness of the instrument for the end designed, she dwelt with more exalted pleasure upon the wisdom and grace which prepared and directed it;—wisdom, full of the contrivances of mercy; and grace, supplying all the wants of a fallen creature. If any reader of St. Paul should have discovered nothing of excellence in his character, and nothing to be admired in the counsels which selected this Apostle for the defence and propagation of the Gospel, let him be assured that he has much to learn. He resembles the heedless traveller, who perceives nothing in his progress but the soil and the pebbles around him. It is to patient research that the scenery unveils its beauties, and spreads the secret treasures of its interior magnificence.

Mrs. More commences her work by stating, in the Preface, the nature of her plan: it is written with the candour and judgment which we were prepared to expect from her, and with a degree of modesty which may serve as a useful lesson to others. She neither claims the chair of the expositor, nor enters into that sort of critical learning which, however valuable to the scholar, is of no great importance to the general reader. Her object is to exhibit the character of St. Paul, as a model for imitation to Christians of every class; and this she endeavours to accomplish, not by lowering the dignity of the Apostle, but by bringing us to a more intimate acquaintance with his principles and dispositions. Her aim is to show, from his example, from the spirit and temper

which he displayed in the discharge of his duties, and the pressure of his unparalleled sufferings, in what manner our common actions are to be performed, and our common trials sustained. We are not called to the post which he occupied, nor will future ages look back to us with the reverence which belongs to St. Paul; but the doctrines and precepts of the Gospel are given for the benefit of all men, as the guide of their faith, and the rule of their constant practice: the efficacy of them is to be shown in our ordinary concerns, in the pursuits and engagements of every day; and thus it is that they are expounded and applied by the Apostle of the Gentiles. As he has unfolded more distinctly than others, the great truths of our religion, so has he been careful "to extend his code to the more minute exigencies and relations of familiar life."

It is evident that a work of this nature should enter into particulars. In perusing the Acts of the Apostles, and the letters of him who was the chief of their number, we can hardly fail to admire the character of St. Paul, and the tendency of his writings. But to convert this knowledge to a practical purpose, we must not be contented with a *general* view of the subject. It is highly useful to examine the matter somewhat in detail: we must be apprised that this clear light, which is shed around the path of the Apostle, is composed of many distinct rays, and that it can be separated into its constituent parts: that to compose the moral excellence of a man like him, there must be a concentration of many Christian virtues and Christian graces, and that these can be best seen each in its place, and each as occasion calls it into action. We shall thus also perceive that all these virtues and graces proceed from one general principle; that whatever be their diversity, they flow from the same source; and that, if we partake of the real spirit of the Gospel, it must be displayed in *our* lives as it shone forth in the life of St. Paul.

With a view to the benefit arising from detail, Mrs. More has divided her work into 22 chapters; in which, after an appropriate *Introduction*, she points out in order some of the chief traits of the Apostle's character and writings, and concludes by a few pages of useful discussion, to which the subject seems naturally to lead.

The days appear to have pretty well passed away, when thinking men could be so far deluded as to place the principles and practice of the heathen world in competition with those, which are inculcated by the revelation of God. Yet it may fairly be doubted, whether the abominations of heathenism are usually viewed in their real colours, even by those who acknowledge that the light which was in them was darkness. In the first chapter, on the morality of Paganism, although our amiable author enters not into any minute description of the atrocities which disgraced the

manners of Greece and Rome, sufficient information is afforded to demonstrate the necessity of the Christian revelation. So deplorably bad in its principles was the religion of the heathens; so low and uncertain was the standard of morals; so wretched was the whole system of mythology; so absurd, on many important subjects, were the notions even of reasoners, comparatively virtuous and wise, that it seems impossible not to acknowledge the want of pure and unauthoritative instruction. It is true that, in this lamentable night of ignorance and irreligion, here and there a few solitary rays appeared to shoot over the horizon, and in some sense to mitigate the general gloom; but they proceeded not from the Sun of Righteousness: there was none of that continuous, and uniform lustre which indicates a fountain of light. The moral aphorisms of heathen antiquity were founded upon no principles, which could give them a powerful effect: they presented few motives of influence, and led to no certain results: they were scattered like meteors in a troubled sky, which, however dazzling when contrasted with the deep shadows around them, were of little service to direct the pilgrim on his way. He looks for the day star to arise, and waits for the dawn of the morning. "Under the clear illumination of evangelical truth every precept becomes a principle, every argument a motive, every direction a duty, every doctrine a law."—"The glory of the Pagan religion consisted in virtuous sentiments; the glory of the Christian, in the pardon and subjugation of sin." (P. 25.)

The second chapter, which is also preliminary to the main subject, contains many useful and judicious observations on the historical writers of the New Testament. It states, in a popular way, some of those peculiar evidences of Christianity, which appeal most strongly to the reason and good sense of plain and intelligent men. Such, for instance, is the wonderful agreement of the several books of the sacred volume, composed by persons of very different ranks, and of every variety of character:—Sovereigns and fishermen;—historians, legislators, orators, poets. Such also, with a coincidence of general plan, are the occasional discrepancy and incidental variation to be found in the Scriptures. Such too is the manner in which the Evangelists speak of themselves, and record their own errors;—the simplicity of their narrative, and the total absence of every thing like fraud or collusion. "The Evangelists, it is remarked, did not so much attempt to argue the truth of Christ's doctrines, as practically to prove that they were of divine origin." A miracle furnished an argument easy to be understood.

Historical books, like those of the four Gospels, are evidently not calculated for a full developement of the doctrines and precepts of Christianity. They were meant for another purpose; and in

order to give a complete view of the real nature, tendency, and scheme of the religion of Christ, to explain its principles, to enforce its injunctions, to impress it upon the hearts and consciences of men, and to preserve the Gospels themselves from the miserable comments and glosses of ignorant expositors, there was wanting some appeal more argumentative and didactic; and it was important, at the same time, to trace the history and progress of divine truth on its more perfect promulgation. What the Gospels left imperfect has been supplied by the Acts of the Apostles and their several Epistles. The narrative of their labours brings us to a more satisfactory knowledge of the character of our faith, and serves as an introduction to the other writings, which complete the Canon of Scripture.

In turning more directly to the epistolary books of the New Testament (chap. 3d), our author observes, that the Epistles of St. Paul open, as if through design, with the letter addressed to that very city, the mention of his residence in which concludes the preceding narrative. The coincidence is certainly pleasing; but we do not imagine, neither indeed does Mrs. More suppose, that the arrangement of St. Paul's Epistles was formed with any regard to this circumstance. It seems to have depended upon the assumed dignity of those to whom the Epistle was sent.—Rome was the Imperial City; the Epistle to the Romans was therefore placed first in the list. Corinth was at that time the metropolis of Greece, the residence of the Roman Governor of Achaia, and those to the Corinthians immediately follow. The letters to the other Churches were probably disposed according to the same rule, and then come the Epistles to particular individuals.

In speaking of the Epistles as an inestimable Appendix to the Evangelists, it is not meant to be asserted that they add any new truth to those which are contained in the Gospels; but they give a larger exposition of truths already delivered: they present, in a clearer light, the several parts of that wonderful plan of human redemption; and teach in a more intelligible form the duties, and obligations, and privileges, which are comprised in the mystery of godliness.

The knowledge which had been previously communicated to the other Apostles was imparted to St. Paul by a direct revelation: he declares expressly that he had seen the Lord; alluding most probably to that extraordinary vision which arrested him on his way to Damascus; and, converting him from a persecutor into an Apostle, sent him forth as a chosen vessel to preach to the Gentiles, and to confirm that faith, which he had till then laboured to destroy.

Whilst Mrs. More is, in this general way, vindicating the ex-

cellency of the Epistles and the character of St. Paul, she very properly adverts to the supposed difficulty of his writings. There is a passage in St. Peter, which is commonly understood to imply that some parts of his Epistles are hard to be understood; and we have recently heard the argument advanced again and again, as if nothing in the writings of St. Paul were easy of comprehension, and as if every thing which he wrote were of dangerous tendency, unless guarded by interpretations and comments. We are not indisposed to concede that, for reasons hereafter to be assigned, there are difficulties in the writings of St. Paul peculiar to himself; but we must beg leave to affirm, that the assertion commonly attributed to St. Peter, never was made by St. Peter. He does not say, that in the Epistles of Paul are some things hard to be understood. The usual error on this subject arises solely from the antiquity of our own translation. The passage correctly translated runs thus: "Even as our beloved Brother Paul, also, according to the wisdom given unto him, hath written unto you; as also in all his Epistles, speaking in them of these things; in which things," (*ἐν οἷς*, not *ἐν αὐτῷ*, scilicet *ἐπιστολαῖς*), viz. in the coming of the day of the Lord, in the dissolution of the heavens, the consuming of the elements, and in the creation of new heavens and a new earth, "are some things hard to be understood." The mystery consists not in Paul's manner of treating these subjects, but in the subjects themselves; and whoever treats of these things must tell of matters hard to be understood. We are well aware that Mrs. More has no need of this criticism; we make it for the benefit of others, and especially of those persons, who are so much in the habit of wresting the Scriptures of St. Peter. We cordially agree with our judicious author in her several observations on the value of these Epistles by St. Paul. They were dictated by the same inspiration, which we acknowledge in the Gospels, and were added by the authority of the Holy Ghost, to build up and polish the spiritual temple "into complete beauty and everlasting strength."

The subjects of the successive chapters, from the 4th to the 20th, are particular features in the character of the Apostle, or his opinions on certain doctrines of great practical importance.

In the preface to her work, Mrs. More anticipates a possible objection, that there is too little method in the distribution of its parts. We desire not to be reckoned among such objectors. Other writers might, perhaps, adopt a different arrangement, and it is probable that no two authors, writing independently of each other, would in a work of this nature pursue exactly the same course. The late Rev. Mr. Fletcher, in his valuable portrait of St. Paul (a treatise composed with a special view to Christian Pastors), mentions forty particulars in the Apostle's character, each

of which is noticed in a separate section. Others, in their delineations of the same Apostle, have confined themselves to a small number, which are at once obvious and comprehensive; such as his learning, his reasoning powers, humility, temperance and sobriety, kindness and charity, zeal and patience, and fidelity and devotion: some lay particular stress upon his "unshaken and affectionate attachment to Jesus Christ, his extensive and generous benevolence to men, and his ardent desire to save their souls, whatever dangers he might himself sustain." The plan is of no great importance; its merits will depend essentially on the manner of its execution; and in this view we think that Mrs. More has little to apprehend from a comparison with those that have preceded her.

She commences in the 4th chapter, by adverting to the *faith* of the Apostle as a practical principle; and is very careful to distinguish between the faith of mere assent, the faith which is purely a conviction of the understanding, and that vital faith "with which the souls of the Scripture Saints were so richly imbued." It has sometimes been made a question, whether the faith of the Gospel be necessarily productive of good works. St. Paul, as Mrs. More clearly demonstrates, would answer in the affirmative: he considers "holiness and charity as its inseparable concomitants, or rather its necessary productions." (P. 81.) If any man have discovered a faith, which leads him to answer in the negative, he has found it not in the Apostles of Jesus Christ; but in the hearts of those fallen and abandoned beings, who believe and tremble, and disobey. The faith of St. Paul, as our author informs us, is a *regulating* principle, bringing us into obedience: it is a *victorious* principle, teaching us to overcome the world: it is a *transforming* principle, changing the whole constitution of the mind: it is a strenuous, operative, vigilant grace: it constitutes the very essence of a spiritual life, and its fruits are manifest to all men.

The value attached by the Apostle to Christian morality is shown in the following chapter. St. Paul is abundant in ethical instruction. "He hath furnished us," says Dr. Barrow, "with so rich a variety of moral and spiritual precepts, subordinate to the general laws of piety and virtue, that out of them might well be compiled a body of ethics, or system of precepts de officiis, in truth and completeness far excelling those which any Philosophy hath been able to devise or deliver."* In the same strain Mrs. More observes (P. 98), that "as there never was a man who expanded and illustrated those doctrines (of Grace) so fully, so there never was one, whose character and compositions exhibit a more consistent and high-toned morality." This position she

* See the motto to these volumes.

confirms by satisfactory proofs; by some of his most impressive declarations; by the 12th chapter of the Romans, the 5th of 1st Thessalonians, the Epistle to Titus, and the two last chapters of the Ephesians. He is at all times anxious to establish the moral law, and to fix it upon its true basis: he shows that the doctrine of grace is the only source from which legitimate virtue can spring: he is indignant against hypocrisy and vice; perpetually combats the notion, that the freedom of the Gospel is a freedom from moral restraint, and points his keenest animadversions at those who turn the grace of God into lasciviousness. To prevent any mistake on the subject, our author adds:

“We have employed the term *morality* in compliance with common usage; but adopted in the worldly sense, it gives but an imperfect idea of the Apostle’s meaning. His preceptive passages are encircled with a kind of glory; they are illuminated with a beam from heaven; they proceed from the Spirit of God, and are produced by faith in Him.—There is every where that beautiful intermixture of motive and action, that union of the cause and the effect, the faith and its fruits, that uniform balance of the principle and the produce, which render these Epistles an exhaustless treasury of practical wisdom, as well as an imperishable record of Divine Grace.”—(Vol. I. p. 117.)

The *disinterestedness* of St. Paul is happily illustrated in a chapter with that title, by a variety of instances, which prove beyond a doubt the determination of his whole mind, simply and exclusively, to the grand object of his ministerial labours: “He has no bye ends, no secret reserves. His intention is single: his way is straight forward: he keeps his end in view without reflection, and he pursues it without weariness.”—(Ib. p. 121.)

Of the Apostle’s prudence and judgment, with reference both to his Jewish countrymen and the “sinners of the Gentiles,” the 7th and 8th chapters contain many pleasing illustrations. In things honest he was all things to all men; he was anxious to conciliate his hearers universally for the sake of their own salvation. He manifested a tender solicitude in consulting even the *prejudices* of others, where the prejudice might be kept without danger to religion; and he continually availed himself of that mode of address, which was most likely to secure a fair hearing, and an impartial decision. With the Jews he frequently argued from the Old Testament, concerning the promised Messiah, and preached unto them Jesus, as the Saviour foretold by the Prophets. To the Gentiles he spoke of the works of the visible creation, or appealed at once to their understandings and their consciences, in testimony of the truths which he was commanded to deliver.—His deportment before Felix, an unjust and profligate governor, his moderation at Ephesus, where it appears that he had neither reviled the goddess Diana, nor profaned the temples, but was

contented with preaching against idolatry in general: his examination before Agrippa, and his noble, judicious, and discriminating sermon to the polished Athenians, are among the instances cited by Mrs. More in support of her argument. They are in themselves admirable and conclusive; and it is but right to mention, that they lose nothing of their impressiveness by the manner in which they are here introduced.

The general principle of the Apostle's writings is laid down in the 9th chapter, with great variety of illustration, and in a way which is well suited to instruct the ignorant, and to give a clear practical view of the nature of religion. Repentance toward God and faith toward our Lord Jesus Christ, formed the substance of his testimony to all men. He points to the Son of God, as the sole author of our faith: "From this doctrine he derives all sanctity, all duty, and all consolation." The maxims of his morality are always drawn from the principles of the Cross of Christ.

It follows that a Christian should not be the creature of ignorance. To know God and Jesus Christ whom he has sent, must imply an acquaintance with the chief doctrines of revelation: and no man was ever less inclined than St. Paul to substitute ignorance for devotion. It is true that piety does not consist in extensive knowledge; but without some degree of scriptural knowledge, it is difficult to understand how the principles of Christianity can be cultivated; and in this knowledge we are requested to increase, till we shall know even as we are known.

The reader of taste will be much gratified with the chapter which follows, on the style and genius of St. Paul.

This style, according to our author, is worthy of his exalted subjects.

"His powerful and diversified character of mind seems to have combined the separate excellencies of all the other sacred authors—the loftiness of Isaiah, the devotion of David, the pathos of Jeremiah, the vehemence of Ezekiel, the didactic gravity of Moses, the elevated morality and practical good sense, though somewhat more highly coloured, of St. James; the sublime conceptions and deep views of St. John; the noble energies and burning zeal of St. Peter. To all these, he added his own strong argumentative powers, depth of thought, and intensity of feeling." (Vol. I. p. 254, 255.)

This is high praise; but it is duly qualified in the succeeding pages. With many and rare excellencies as a writer, with a wonderful exuberance of ideas, and a command of expression adapted to every theme on which he has occasion to write, and to every feeling which may arise in his mind, it is confessed that

"He is often abrupt, and sometimes obscure: his reasoning, though generally clear, is, as the best critics allow, sometimes involved, perhaps

owing to the suddenness of his transitions, the rapidity of his ideas, the sensibility of his soul.”—(Vol. I. p. 256.)

The cause assigned to Mrs. More for his frequent use of hyperbata is in fact the same, which was long since adduced by Irenæus: * and every reader of taste, we are persuaded, will feel the justice of the observation. The Apostle is often carried away by the impetuous fervor and loftiness of his mind. On such occasions to confine his excursive spirit within the limits of regular argumentation would be to chain down the ocean in the proudest swelling and grandeur of its waves. But we can scarcely consider this as a defect. It may deter the idle; it may supply an excuse for indolence to those who are unwilling to think; but if it invite the more studious to a serious examination of his writings, the result will be beneficial: many passages, apparently involved, will be clearly comprehended, and the order of the reasoning distinctly seen. It was the opinion of Epiphanius, that the alleged complication of St. Paul's discourses was only in appearance; and we will venture to add with our Author, that if any of them should remain after all obscure and intricate, yet some lesson of practical wisdom will be the reward of examination. Some “position of piety, some aphorism of virtue, easy from its brevity, intelligible from its clearness, and valuable from its weight.”—(lb. p. 257.)

“As an orator,” says Mrs. More, “Paul unquestionably stands in the foremost rank. When the renowned Athenian so ‘wielded the fierce democracy,’ as to animate with one common sentiment the whole assembly against Philip; when his great rival stirred up the Roman senate against their oppressors, and by the power of his eloquence made Catiline contemptible, and Antony detestable, they had every thing in their favour. Their character was established: each held a distinguished office in the state. They stood on the vantage ground of the highest rank and reputation. When they spoke, admiration stood waiting to applaud. Their characters commanded attention. Their subject insured approbation. Each, too, had the advantage of addressing his own friends, his own countrymen—men of the same religious and political habits with themselves. Before they started, they had already pre-occupied half the road to success and glory.

“Now turn to Paul!—A stranger, poor, persecuted, unprotected, unsupported—despised beforehand, whether he were considered as a Jew or a Christian; solitary, defenceless, degraded even to chains, yet did he make the prejudiced King vacillate in his opinion, the unjust judge tremble on his seat. The Apostle of the Gentiles owed none of his success to an appeal to the corrupt passions of his audience. Demosthenes and Cicero, it must be confessed, by their arguments and their eloquence, but not a little also by their railing and invective, •

* Hyperbata frequenter utitur Apostolus propter velocitatem sermonum suorum et propter impetum qui in ipso est Spiritus. Lib. iii. c. 7. Adv. Hær.

kindled strong emotions in the minds of their respective audiences. Now these vituperations, it must be remembered, were applied to *other* persons, not to the hearers; and men find a wonderful facility in admiring satire not directed at themselves. But in the case of Saint Paul, the very persons addressed were at once the accused and the judges. The auditors were to apply the searching truths to their own hearts; to look inward on the mortifying spectacle of their own errors and vices; so that the Apostle had the feelings of the hearers completely against him, whilst the Pagan orator had those of his audience already on his side.”—(Vol. I. p. 267—269.)

It would be unpardonable, while we are speaking of the style and genius of St. Paul, if we should omit to notice the glowing expressions of his gratitude, and the overflowing affections of his heart. But in doing this our Author particularly remarks the gravity and decorum which he always maintains. In his writings there is nothing flippant, nothing familiar: every sentence, which may be cited in evidence of his gratitude and love to Christ, may be cited also for its language of sobriety. “His freedom is a filial freedom:” he has nothing low, or coarse, or familiar:

“It is the King eternal, immortal, invisible—the blessed and only Potentate—King of Kings, Lord of Lords,—He, who hath immortality—who dwelleth in the light that no man can approach unto,—He, who hath honour and power everlasting, to whom, and of whom, he feels himself to speak.”—(Ib. p. 276.)

It is mentioned by Mrs. More, at the beginning of her very touching chapter on the Apostle’s tenderness of heart, as one of the most striking peculiarities of Christianity, that they who, in Scripture phraseology, love not the world, neither the things that are in the world, are yet the persons in it who are farthest from misanthropes. The remark is just; and the judgment and good sense of a writer like herself afford an ample pledge that the sentiment shall not assume more of the air of paradox than really belongs to it. It may not, however, be entirely useless, if we observe, for the benefit of others, that the term “world” is adopted in Scripture in several different senses. We shall mention two. Sometimes we are told that the world will hate the disciples of Christ, and that the world will love its own: in this connexion it signifies the men of the world, the wicked and ungodly. At other times we are commanded not to love the world: it then signifies the various objects of gratification which the earth affords; its pleasures, or riches, or honours, or unauthorized and unholy pursuits. In proportion as our affections are set upon things above, we shall withdraw them from the things upon the earth; and in the same proportion that we love God we shall love our brother also. The distinction is as consistent with the dictates of reason as with the rule of revelation.

Every Christian must possess some tenderness of heart; but Mrs. More's knowledge of mankind has convinced her, that in many good persons it is unhappily debased by repulsiveness of manner, defect of courtesy, and inattention to the smaller acts of kindness. St. Paul's tenderness of mind is displayed on all opportunities. How careful is he to cherish among young converts every opening promise of goodness! How ready to consult the feelings of his friends, and to condescend to their little anxieties! How mild in censure!—how gentle in reproof!—with what kind and soothing words does he temper his reprehensions! But his tenderness never degenerated into weakness; it never led him to betray his trust; to praise, where it was right to condemn; to palliate, where palliation would be wrong. He was still the faithful Minister of Jesus Christ, and even the noblest generousities of his nature were subject to the higher influence of the love of God and the paramount sense of his Christian obligations.

The parting scene with his beloved converts of Ephesus, is introduced into these pages as a fine exemplification of his tender fidelity. There is a beauty and force in the simple narrative which must touch even the most insensible heart; and it is well followed up in this chapter with an allusion to that more interesting day,

“When the pastor and his flock shall appear together, at the call of the Chief Shepherd,—when the servants of the Universal Master—‘they who have sought that which was lost, and brought again that which was driven away, and bound up that which was broken, and strengthened that which was sick’,* shall deliver up to Him who laid down his life for the sheep, that flock ‘which he will require at their hands.’”—(Vol. II. p. 34.)

We strongly recommend the whole passage to those who have taken upon themselves the awful responsibility of public ministrations.

On the question of particular friendships, which have been pronounced by Soame Jenyns to be hostile to the spirit of Christianity, Mrs. More decides, from the example of Saint Paul, that they are perfectly consistent with the character of our religion. The capacious heart of the Apostle embraced the whole family of man; he looked, however, with more especial regard to them that were of the household of faith: while his anxiety for Timothy's health, and grief on account of the sickness of Epaphroditus, prove that he felt for them the peculiar interest of a friend and a brother.

Our Author's view of the heavenly-mindedness of Saint Paul (chap. 12) will be seen by the following extracts:

“This disposition the Apostle makes the preliminary to all performance, as well as the condition of all acceptance. This is it which constitutes the charm of his writings. There is a spirit of sanctity which

* Ezekiel, xxxiv. 16.

pervades them, and which, whilst it affords the best evidence of the love of God shed abroad in his own heart, infuses it also into the heart of his readers. While he is musing the fire burns, and communicates its pure flame to every breast susceptible of genuine Christian feeling. Under its influence his arguments become persuasions, his exhortations entreaties. A sentiment so tender, an earnestness so imploring, breathes throughout them, that it might seem that all regard for himself, all care for his own interests, is swallowed up in his ardent and affectionate concern for the spiritual interests of others.

“The exuberance of his love and gratitude, the fruits of his abundant faith, breaks out almost in spite of himself. His zeal improves our timidity, his energy our indifference. ‘He dwells,’ as an eloquent writer has remarked, ‘with almost untimely descent,’ on the name of Him who had called him out of darkness into his marvellous light. That name which we are so reluctant to pronounce, not through reverence to its possessor, but fear of each other, ever sounds with holy boldness from the lips of Paul. His bursts of sacred joy, his triumphant appeals to the truth of the promises, his unbounded confidence in the hope set before him, carry an air not only of patience but of victory, not only of faith but of fruition.”—(Vol. II. p. 38, 39.)

“Nothing can be more beautiful than the abrupt apostrophes of praise and gratitude into which, in the midst of sorrow, of exhortation, of reproof, he unexpectedly breaks out. The love of his Redeemer so fills his soul, that it requires an effort to restrain its outward expression. Even when engaged in the transaction of business, and directing the concerns of others, which, by an ordinary mind, would have been pleaded as a valid reason for suspending spiritual ideas, and dismissing spiritual feelings, they yet mix themselves, as it were involuntarily, with his secular cares; there is not only a satisfaction, but a joyfulness, in these escapes of affection which seem to spring from his soul, in proportion to the depression of his circumstances, to the danger which surrounded, to the deaths which threatened him.

“When Paul and Silas were imprisoned at Philippi, it is recorded that they prayed at midnight. This would naturally be expected from such men, under such circumstances; but it is added, ‘they sang praises unto God.’ Thus they not only justified, but glorified Him, under this suffering, as well as degradation. For it must not be forgotten, that this imprisonment was not merely a measure for securing their persons, they were stripped bare, many stripes were laid upon them, and the iron entered into their soul. Yet they sang praises unto God!

“What a triumph is here of the element of spirit over the force and violence of outward circumstances!

‘Th’ oppressor holds,
His body bound, but knows not what a range
His spirit takes, unconscious of a chain;
And that to bind him is a vain attempt,
Whom God delights in, and in whom he dwells.’

“In the Epistle to the Ephesians, to which we have just referred, we are presented with a fresh instance how much his devotion rose under the same circumstances of distress. It was written from a prison, and is almost one entire effusion of love and praise. It is an overflowing ex-

pression of affectionate gratitude, that has no parallel. It seems to be enriched with an additional infusion of the Spirit of God, and has, perhaps, more of the heroism of Christian feeling than, except in the discourses of our Lord, is to be found in the whole sacred treasury. It seems to come fresh from the celestial world. He speaks not as from a prison, but as from a region of light, and life, and glory. His thoughts are in heaven, his soul is with his Saviour, his heart is with his treasure: no wonder, then, that his language has a tincture of the idiom of immortality.”—(Vol. II. p. 54—57.)

The qualities ascribed to the Apostle, in the 13th chapter, are, knowledge of human nature, delicacy in giving advice or reproof, and integrity.

It may, perhaps, be thought, that some of these qualities are not separated by any broad line from others, which have already been discussed; but a perusal of the work will show that the difference is wide enough to make them worthy of distinct notice; and although these may be considered as minor qualities, they are of sufficient importance to hold a prominent place in any work which professes to delineate the character of Saint Paul: and they are here exhibited in a way which not only shows the excellence of his example, but which strongly recommends that example as a model for imitation. Many of the remarks on this subject are valuable to Christians whatever be their station; some are intended directly for the female sex, and not a few deserve the serious attention of those who appear as the successors of Saint Paul and his associates.

Toward the close of the chapter we have the following paragraph:

“May we here be allowed to observe, though somewhat out of place, that the characters of these two Apostles are brought forward with such remarkable promineney and detail, in sacred history, that it would be a subject well worthy some able pen to delineate the characters of the men, and interweave that of their writings in some connected work. Thus placed in one frame, we should have a most interesting view of these two eminent persons as the representatives of the Gentile and the Jewish Churches of Christ. This representation, incorporated with the circumstances which distinguished the first promulgation of the Gospel, renders every particular concerning them highly affecting.”—(Ib. p. 95, 96.)

The utility of such a work, if well executed, will be readily acknowledged. Although both these Apostles were influenced by sincere love to their Master, and by earnestness for the salvation of men, and were honoured, as some tell us, by the crown of martyrdom on the same day, yet is it impossible not to perceive a great difference between them. The Christian character has, perhaps, in every case, some tinge of colour derived from the natural constitution. Christianity does not *destroy* the feelings and dispositions of the mind; it purifies and gives them a right direction; but in such a way that even in the exercise of Christian

virtues the predominant tendencies of the man will frequently be seen. We know, for example, that in each of these Apostles there was something of constitutional warmth; yet it is obvious that the eagerness and impetuosity of Saint Peter were very different from the zeal of Saint Paul. The peculiarity of Peter's disposition was manifested on many occasions. He was, in early life, very forward to speak and give advice, and sometimes without due consideration. He proved himself not only ready to promise great things in the cause of his master, but courageous in running into dangers. It was to be expected that he should sometimes relapse into the other extreme; and we cannot be surprised if at such moments he should even deny his Lord. But with what constancy of resolution did he afterwards confess the faith of Christ crucified before his most determined enemies! How noble, how peculiarly excellent, did that same disposition appear, when under the influence of the grace of God he bare witness to the truth, and finally sealed it with his blood!

We presume not to dwell upon this subject; but to us it appears that something of this same temper is to be discovered in his love* and humility,† and other Christian graces; and we should be glad to see the parallel between the two Apostles drawn out at full length according to the idea suggested by Mrs. More.

It were certainly to have been wished that Chrysostom had made some attempt of the kind when composing to their honour his panegyrical orations. The subject was worthy of his talents; and if he had directed to it his great powers with a correct aim, and with simplicity of style, he would have rendered an acceptable service to readers of every age. But we cannot look upon his present Discourses on Saint Peter and Saint Paul without some feeling of regret. They are so entirely panegyrical and with great pomp of words have so little of discrimination, that however we may admire the fertility of his genius, we derive few valuable or even definitive ideas from the perusal of them. To be told that ‡ Peter was the beginning of orthodoxy, the great Hierophant of the Church, the necessary Counsellor of Christians, the treasure of supernal powers, an Apostle honoured of the Lord; and that Paul was the great preacher of truth, the glory of the whole world, in Heaven a man, on earth an angel, the glory of the church, an eagle flying on high, the lyre of the Spirit, with a great deal more in the same taste and 'o a similar end, is to be favoured with instruction neither very useful nor remarkably clear. The work suggested by Mrs. More must be upon a different plan and in another sort of style. It requires many qualifications not easily

* See John xxi. 17.

† Luke v. 8. John xiii. 8, &c.

‡ Πέτρος, ὁ ἀρχὴ τῆς οὐδοδείας, ὁ μέγα τῆ κλησίας ἱερωμηνίας, ὁ ἀναρχαῖος σύμβουλος τῶν Χριστιανῶν, &c. &c. In Petr. et Paul. Sermo.

to be found in one person; but we have no difficulty in recommending it to her who has discoursed with so much beauty and effect upon the character of Saint Paul. We know not to whom we can look with so much confidence as to that distinguished writer who has so long held converse with Prophets and Apostles; who has been pouring forth, as an evidence of that communion, for nearly half a century, such various stores of piety and knowledge, and so successfully directing her unwearied energies to the promotion of true religion and the benefit and happiness of mankind. From whose pen would such a work be more acceptable to the public?—to whom is it accustomed to turn with warmer feelings of respect, and gratitude, and love?

After a discussion on the love of money, (chap. xiv.) in which the apologies for that sin, its radical evil, and the Apostle's judgment respecting it, are clearly laid down, our Author proceeds, in the 15th chapter, to examine the genius of Christianity as seen in Saint Paul.

The phrase is adopted, not so much to signify the spirit and design and offers of Christianity as to denote "its practical effects, its general results, its transforming nature, its renovating power." We select the following passage:

"When we compare this blessed Apostle, who now fears to wound the *feelings* of others, with the same man who had lately no regard even for their *lives*; the man who now treats with tenderness the very *prejudices* of Christians, with him who 'before made havoc of the church;' the man whom we find weeping over all sufferings but his own, with him who had 'persecuted to the death;' when we consider him who aforetime was 'binding and imprisoning the followers of Jesus,' now burning with zeal for his cause, though he knew that punishments the most severe awaited himself; him who had been assisting at the death of the first martyr, now heroically pursuing that course which he was forewarned would lead to his own martyrdom; the man who 'destroyed them who called on the name of Jesus,' 'now confounding the Jews, and proving that this is indeed the very Christ,'—shall we, when we see these astonishing results, refuse our homage to the transforming genius of Christianity; to that power which enabled this fierce assailant to 'put off the old man with his deeds, and to put on the new man, which after God is created in righteousness and true holiness?'

"Saint Paul did not furnish such authentic evidence of that power of God which produced this total revolution in his character, merely by suffering *death* in confirmation of his faith, for error has had its confessors, and idolatry its martyrs; but he proved it by the persevering holiness of a long and tormented life; he proved it, by suffering himself as courageously as he taught others to suffer. May we venture to add, he gave a testimony, less accredited perhaps, but almost more convincing. The conceited Pharisee is become the humblest of men; the proud bigot is meekness personified. This *change of disposition* is the surest test of his total renovation. The infusion of a heavenly temper

where a bad one had predominated, is one of the rarest results of almighty power: and it not only affords a substantial proof of the individual improvement, but furnishes one of the most striking displays of the distinguishing character of our religion.

"It is owing to this specific character of Christianity that, while philosophy had gloried in its wisdom, Saint Paul glories only in his weakness. If he ever exults, it is in the strength of the hand which employs him. His confidence in this supernatural strength explains his paradox, *when I am weak, then I am strong*. Sometimes, indeed, he boasts of himself, but it is always of his disadvantages. He avows his determination not to avail himself of any personal acquirements; and after his utmost success in 'winning souls,' he expressly disclaims that *excellency of speech* which others consider as the grand instrument for converting them. He strips himself of all ground of boasting; acknowledges that he comes *in weakness, in fear, in much trembling*; and requires that the glory of every success which attended his labours might be wholly ascribed to God. He demonstrates that all the wisdom with which the world had been dazzled, was to be eclipsed by that *hidden wisdom* 'which none of the princes of this world knew,' and their ignorance of which was the only extenuation that he offers of their guilt in 'crucifying the Lord of Glory.'"—(Vol. II. p. 137—141.)

That such a religion should be favourable to loyalty and order might safely be deduced from its general nature, even if no precept had been delivered to that effect, and no remarkable example of submission could be adduced. Christianity holds no compromise with a factious spirit; and Saint Paul himself is one of the most illustrious instances, which the world can name, of obedience to constituted authorities, of respectful submission even to a tyrant. He flattered not the vices of the governors, but he obeyed the government: he asserted, indeed, the privileges of his birth; he availed himself of an appeal which the law allowed; but his independence of character was not contumacious: his sense of injustice never impelled him to speak evil of dignities.

While explaining this duty of submission to constituted authorities, the amiable writer is naturally led to the fearful contrast exhibited in the designs of that malignant and desperate band, who laboured in our own times with such fatal success for the subversion of the altar and the throne. She dwells particularly upon the character of Voltaire, and draws a lively portrait of that splendid incendiary. We have heard his blasphemies; we have seen the fruit of his exertions; but Christianity still exists; it has risen and triumphed in the storm. The name of that Saviour which he sought with such diabolical perseverance to obliterate, is now revered by thousands to whom it was at that time unknown: his holy word is travelling to the ends of the earth, and we indulge a reasonable hope that peace and order, and law, will again descend from Heaven to cheer a desolated world.

The attention of Saint Paul to inferior concerns is the subject of the 17th chapter, and it is beautifully exhibited. In the midst of all his labours and trials, and anticipations, he never lost sight of subordinate things. If he sought to heal schism in the churches, he was anxious also to reconcile individuals: if he sought to give right principles, he wished every thing to be done in a right manner, decently, and in order. In addition to other proofs, the Epistle to Philemon is cited as much to the purpose; and those who have never read it with attention will, probably, be surprised to find how admirably it bears upon the argument. Our Author takes occasion to notice the wide difference between this sober narrative and many of those reports which are frequently issuing from the press concerning the triumphant deaths of penitent malefactors. We agree with her that the circulation of such pamphlets, even if the statements were true to the full extent, is more likely to do harm than good. The case of the thief mentioned in the Gospels was a rare instance of divine mercy: it stands alone, as if to check presumption; it is recorded that none may despair.

The doctrine of the Resurrection is the subject of the 18th chapter. In this chapter we have many impressive observations upon that inimitable discourse by Saint Paul, which the Church of England has with so much judgment and right feeling adopted into her Burial Service. Our Author speaks of it in these terms:

“As a composition it stands unrivalled for the unspeakable importance of its matter, its deep reasoning, and lofty imagery. Saint Paul sometimes leaves it to others to beat out his massy thoughts into all the expansion of which they are so susceptible: his eloquence, indeed, usually consists more in the grandeur of the sentiment than in the splendour of the language. Here both are equally conspicuous. Here his genius breaks out in its full force; here his mind lights upon a subject which calls out all his powers; and the subject finds a writer worthy of itself. It furnishes a succession of almost every object that is grand in the visible and the invisible world. A description becomes a picture; an expostulation assumes the regularity of a syllogism; an idea takes the form of an image; the writer seems to be the spectator; the relater speaks as one admitted within the veil.”—(Vol. II. p. 209, 210.)

After enlarging practically upon the injunctions delivered by the Apostle “to pray, rejoice, and give thanks,” and showing in what manner these duties were fulfilled in his own person, Mrs. More proceeds, in the 20th chapter, to prove that Saint Paul may justly be proposed as an example to familiar life. It is allowed that he was appointed to a station in the church which few men are qualified to fill; that he was favoured by peculiar revelations and furnished with powers which, in their full lustre, belonged only to the apostolic ages: but in all those things which relate to the life of faith, and to the growth of the Christian in grace and

holiness, it is our privilege to partake with him. The language which he adopts, in reference to large communities, although, perhaps, not strictly applicable to each individual, intimating that they were filled with all goodness and knowledge: the exhortations by which he urges his converts to go on to perfection, to acquire that fixedness of principle, that Christian elevation of character which should enable them to love God with all their heart, to be steadfast in faith, and abundant in good works. These and many other circumstances prove that the Apostle was not placed above our imitation. The religion of Saint Paul was a religion of principles, and habits, and affections, which belong to our common Christianity. We are to be quickened by the same grace, purified by the same spirit, animated by the same hope, and with the corresponding exercise of faith and patience to inherit the promises.

And here the object of these volumes may be considered as brought to a close. The intention of the few remaining pages is to encourage the reader to follow the example before him, and to point out some of those impediments which may, probably, check his progress.

We were much pleased with the solemn call contained in the last chapter, to the inhabitants of this country, to live up to the high tone of principle which they assume, and to *obey* the Gospel as well as to *profess* it. In connection with this address, our Author adverts with great force to the existing situation of France, and delivers a most important warning on the danger of evil communications. We cannot resist the inclination to produce the passage:

“As the joy felt by the patriarchal family in the ark, when the bird of peace, with its symbol in her mouth, returned to this little remnant of an annihilated world—such, in its kind, was the joy experienced when the voice of the charmer was recently heard on our shores, and throughout an almost desolated quarter of the globe. But let not our own country forget that this peace, so fervently desired, and so graciously accorded, may, by our neglecting to improve the blessing, become more fatally and irretrievably injurious, than that state of hostility which we have so long and so justly deplored. Let us not forget that the shutting of the gates of the temple of Janus, by opening those of Paris, may only have changed the nature, while it has deteriorated the character of the warfare.

“What incantation is there in the name of peace that could, as by the touch of a magician’s wand, produce at once a total revolution in the character of a people, and in our opinion of them? What charm is there in a *sound* that could so transform a great nation, abandoned for a quarter of a century to boundless vice, and avowed infidelity, as to render familiar intercourse with them profitable, or their society even safe; which could instantaneously convert this scene of alarm, into a

scene of irresistible attraction; could cause at once this land of terror to be desired as impatiently, and sought as impetuously, as if it had been the Land of Promise?

“Will the borrowed glory, or rather the stolen renown, arising from pilfered pictures, or plundered statues—will the splendour of public buildings, buildings cemented with the blood of millions—will all the works of art, however exquisite, atone for the degradation of the human, and it may be almost said the extinction of the Christian character? Will marbles, and paintings, and edifices, expiate the utter contempt of morality, with all the other still lingering effects of the legal abolition of Christianity and the public disavowal of God? Will the flower of England, the promising sons and blooming daughters of our nobles and our gentry, reap a measure of improvement from these exhibitions of genius, which may be likely to compensate for the pernicious associations with which they may be accompanied?

“Have we forgotten, that the mother of the fine arts, licentious Greece, injured Rome in her vital interests, her character, her honour, and her principles, more irretrievably than all her losses during her military conflict with them had done?—that this great people, the England of antiquity, never lost sight of her grandeur, never sacrificed her superiority, but when she stooped to imitate the vices, to adopt the manners, and to import the philosophy of the vanquished enemy; and in short, that Greece amply revenged herself on her conqueror by a contact, which communicated an inextinguishable moral contagion?

“To revert to a remoter, and a higher source; did not the chosen people of God suffer more essentially in their most important interests by their familiar communications, after their conquest, with the polluted Canaanites, than in their long and perilous warfare with them?

“Let not these necessary inquiries be construed into the language of vulgar prejudice, into the unchristian wish to perpetuate an unjustifiable aversion to a nation, because they have been our political enemies. We feel no desire, like the Carthaginian father, to entail our own hatred on our offspring, to make our posterity vow interminable hostility to a people, because their predecessors have suffered by them. We have no wish to persist in personal alienation from any country, especially from one, which Divine Providence has made our nearest neighbour. It would be equally weak and wicked.

“But may we not venture, with all diffidence, to ask, should not there be a little space allowed them, after their deep pollution, to perform that quarantine, which even our ships are obliged to undergo before we receive them on our own shores? May we not further ask, in the present instance, if by plunging into the infection on theirs, we do not fearfully aggravate the peril of the pestilence?”—(Vol. II. p. 334—339.)

The work concludes with an animated address upon the excellence of Saint Paul's Epistles, and the benefit to be derived from a frequent and serious perusal of them.

After the account which has now been given of the contents of these volumes, we think it unnecessary to add much in the way of praise; and we are little disposed to detract from their value by re-

marks of an opposite nature. If we have sometimes thought that a sentence was rather quaint, that a trite word was adopted where the dignity of the period would have been consulted by the substitution of another, that the succession of images was occasionally too rapid, and that a sentiment just and obvious in itself, was in a few instances generalised without much advantage to the argument, the objections are too trifling to have weight with those who possess taste to discover the beauties of the work, and to appreciate its value and importance. Cold must be the heart and perverse the understanding, which can fail to be warmed and delighted by the pages of Mrs. More; and these volumes most assuredly will do no injury to her well-earned fame.

With an imagination excursive and vigorous as ever, she combines the wisdom of age and experience. As a writer she has lost nothing by the lapse of years; while she has continually been adding to her stores of knowledge both human and divine. In what degree the tone of morals and the growing respect for religion which prevail in this country may be attributed to her indefatigable exertions, is a question not to be settled on this side of the grave. That they have been productive of no common benefits in every class and order of society few will deny; and we consider the work before us as holding out the promise of additional and abundant good. May the pious designs of the excellent author be realized to their utmost extent! and when, by the providence of God, she shall be called from that world, which it has been the object of her life to leave better than she found it, may she be cheered with the consolation that she has not laboured in vain! May she welcome the termination of her mortal course in the spirit of that distinguished Apostle, whose principles she has so diligently studied, and whose Christian example she has so strenuously pursued!

ART. XX.—*Travels in the Caucasus and Georgia, performed in the Years 1807 and 1808, by Command of the Russian Government.* By Julius Von Klaproth, Aulic Counsellor to his Majesty the Emperor of Russia, Member of the Academy of Sciences of St. Petersburg, &c. Translated from the German by F. Shobert. 1814. 4to. London. Colburn.

THIS work is on various accounts entitled to our attention. But before we proceed to an examination of it we must indulge our-

selves, and, as we trust, our readers also, in a little disquisition on a subject closely connected with it.

The world, which is now contemplating with fearful wonder the overthrow of the French empi., was only three years ago in equal astonishment at its extent. The mighty conquests of Charlemagne were forgotten in the wider strides and more daring and successful ambition of a man who only five and twenty years ago was without

—— a local habitation and a name ;

but who, by a series of villanies and of victories, by narrow cunning, boundless ambition, and audacious enterprise, contrived within the limited term of his triumphant iniquity to seat himself on the Carlovingian throne, to revive the Carlovingian power, and to extend his sanguinary and successful track over kingdoms and empires, and rivers, and mountains, and sweeping deserts, to the existence of which Charlemagne was a total stranger. The comet, however, has passed by ; it has exhausted its baneful influence, and Europe, arousing itself as from a trance, has begun to sweep away the desolations, and repair the ruins of its pestiferous course.

In the rapid and enormous increase of territory and power which has marked the progress of the Russian empire, within a term that comprises little more than memory can embrace, we have a phenomenon of as wonderful, if not of so alarming a character. Russia, scarcely admitted into the civilized community of empires in the seventeenth century, rose with eagle speed to a towering height at the opening of the eighteenth century, and after a short display of her energies, was courted by every cabinet, and became the mighty arbitress of the North.

In 1672 Peter the Great began his first journey into foreign countries. In 1699 he concluded his armistice with the Porte, by which he acquired Azof, and was enabled to construct a navy on the Euxine. In 1709 was fought the battle of Pultowa, in which the finest army in Europe surrendered unconditionally to the barbarians whom they had taught to beat them ; and Sweden, progressively encroached upon at the will of her proud conqueror, has since become little better than a province to the Russian power. By a subsequent succession of triumphs, characterized, as such triumphs usually are, by a contempt for the ties of humanity, and the claims of justice, whenever they stood in the way,—characterized also by a comprehensive foresight and masterly management, into whatever hands the sceptre has fallen, the power of the autocrat has extended itself in every direction. China, Persia, Turkey, Courland, Poland and Denmark, the romantic regions of Asia Minor, and the inhospitable coasts of the Frozen Ocean,

have in their turns contributed to swell the gathering glories, and expand the outline of Russian despotism. At the opening of the present century, the limits of Russia, according to the most accurate official calculations, extended in length from Riga to the eastern borders of Kamtschatka; and in breadth from Kertch, through Moscow, to Kola, being a length of 9200 and a breadth of 2400 English miles, and this, too, without noticing the islands in the eastern ocean; spreading, in a continuous range, through a large portion of Europe, the entire length of Asia, and a part of America; comprising more square miles than the whole European continent; wider in breadth, and at least double the length of the Chinese dominions; and, both in length and breadth, considerably exceeding the boundary of the Roman empire when at the height of its grandeur*.

Such for a considerable period has been this colossal power; and though apparently composed of very heterogeneous elements, we have seen it conducted by a political machinery which has given an uniform and regular motion to all its parts, savage as well as civilized, nomadic as well as municipal, and bending the various wills and habits of all the component masses into a mighty and momentous bearing towards the aggrandizement of the whole, and the accumulation and consolidation of power. Such was Russia, when Buonaparte sallied forth upon a mad adventure among its chilling marshes, and snow-clad mountains, its frozen rivers, its savage woods, and more savage inhabitants, to supplant an empire less ferocious in its most barbarous ascendancy than that which he was about to introduce in its place. In what manner this frantic irruption would have terminated, had the climate and the season not confederated in the cause of justice, can be doubtful only to those who have superficially studied the history of the Russian empire; are unacquainted with the devotion of almost every tribe to the will of the sovereign; the energy of the Russian government, and the rapidity with which its commands are circulated and enforced.

The Russian empire is still expanding; how largely its power and extent of territory has been increased by the overthrow of

* We take Tooke's calculation for Russia, compared with Gibbon's for the Roman empire:—the latter computed, when at its greatest extent, at 1,600,000 square miles; its utmost length, from the Euphrates to the western ocean, amounting to 3,000 miles, and its utmost breadth, from the wall of Antoninus to the pillars of Hercules, 2000 miles. If we travel the entire length of the Russian empire, we shall find it to be, from Riga to Anadyrskoiostrog, 9684 miles, and thence to the haven of Peter and Paul in Kamtschatka, 1750 more. The Roman empire was, therefore, somewhat short of 32 degrees of latitude; Russia comprises 35½: though the strength of the former infinitely exceeded what the latter can ever possess, from its central situation in Europe, its compactness, fertility of climate, and moral power.

Bonaparte, and especially by the annexation of Poland, is obvious enough. But it may not be equally known that the ambition of Russia is still actively at work, to extend its boundaries at least as widely in a south-east, as in a north-west direction, and to carry them to the banks of the Arass, or Araxes. It was only in the year 1800 that, at the instance of the court of St. Petersburg, an overture was submitted by several Georgian chiefs, upon the death of their imbecile prince, to make Georgia a Russian province. In 1806 the arrangements to this effect were completed. The very next step was an order to the respective provincial commanders, to seize the whole line of the Caucasus—Daghestan and Imeretia were instantly occupied; the hordes of unsubdued mountaineers that inhabit its sides became hemmed in by this new protrusion of the Russian territory, and the Araxes now constitutes its limit in this quarter.

It is not, therefore, without some plausibility in their fears that various politicians of the day look with an eye of jealousy upon the actual power and aspiring character of the Russian government; and in the gloom of their closets prophesy a speedy and intentional dispute with Turkey, the downfall of the Ottoman empire, the subjugation of the Hellespont, a predominant influence on the Adriatic, and a new and less retrievable ruin of the political liberties of Europe. We are not inclined to become a party to this melancholy picture of futurity; however we may object to the restless spirit and overweening ambition of the cabinet of St. Petersburg. In the general march of political aggrandizement all human history seems to speak aloud to us, that there is a point towards which it may proceed, and where it must inevitably stop:—a sort of law of nature being inscribed on the boundary-mark, “Hitherto shalt thou come, and no further.” The attempt to advance may indeed be made,—but the penalty is self-destruction to the power that makes it. In physics the attraction of gravitation is in proportion to the general mass, and discloses its maximum at a line drawn between the centre and the surface. In statistics this attraction is governed by different principles: its power is in proportion not to the general mass, but to the general compression or compactness of parts—and its maximum of attraction is placed at the centre alone. Hence the looser and more diffuse the districts of a country the less is its cohesive force; and in proportion as its surface widens, the remote materials must crumble away from mere debility of union;—if they should not, as will most frequently happen, be antecedently detached by other and more operative spheres of attraction in the immediate neighbourhood. This is an obstacle which peculiarly applies to the moral and physical geography of Russia. Other obstacles are to be sought for in those internal collisions of interests, succeeded by

party confederacies and explosions, which are to be found in the closing annals of the most extensive monarchies of former times; and in those wise, patriotic, and stimulating jealousies of surrounding states, of which our own day has furnished us with the most impressive and brilliant example to be met with in the history of the world.

On these accounts, and especially after the striking lesson at this moment before our eyes, we no more trouble ourselves about the dream of an universal empire than that of a perpetual motion. And could we suspect danger from any quarter, it would still be from France rather than Russia. Humbled and degraded as the former is at the present hour, and humbled and degraded as she deserves to be; bending beneath the weight of a vast foreign force that at the same time alone preserves her from internal anarchy; shorn of her military glory, bankrupt in her navy, dismantled in her frontiers—and only existing by the generosity of the very powers whom, in the frenzy of temporary success, she insulted, enslaved, and plundered with the most wicked and wanton cupidity;—the same lust of aggrandisement, the same restless spirit of ambition, still exist in her vitals which has broken out in her dispositions and actions in every age, and under every dynasty, Merovingian or Carlovingian, Capetian or Corsican. She has the same physical facilities for indulging her ruling propensity; those of soil, of climate, of rounded and compact territory, of geographical position, of spreading sea-line, opening equally to the Mediterranean and the Atlantic, to the British Channel, and the German Sea; and she has the same moral powers of intellectual talent and diplomatic craft; with the additional advantage, at the present moment, of a mind unfettered from the shackles of humanity, virtue, honour, religion; indifferent about means, and on the watch for opportunities. It will be a period of great misfortune to this country when the danger from France is forgotten in our visionary alarms about Russia. We may look with astonishment at the enormous magnitude of the Russian boundaries, and may deprecate the insatiable thirst of Russian ambition, but on the concentrated, multiplied, and mischievous energies of France, the attention of Britain must be for ever rivetted, or its independence among nations will be the certain sacrifice.

It is time to enter on the work before us—to which these preliminary remarks, however, will be found to have a pretty close application. The author shall give the account and object of his appointment in his own words.

“Among the most remarkable but least known regions of the ancient world is the Caucasus, which with its long, snow-clad ridges separating Asia from Europe, forms, as it were, the partition between those

two quarters of the globe, and whose first ranges occupy the isthmus between the Caspian and the Black Sea. History affords very few examples of the passage of this chain by wandering nations, who attempted to penetrate on this side into Upper Asia. In our times it was reserved for the Russian arms, during the glorious reign of the Great Catherine, to open a way over the snowy mountains into Georgia through the Caucasian gate, Dariel, so celebrated in antiquity, which since Timur's invasion of the Caucasus had not been trodden by any military force.

"At first it was only auxiliaries that Russia sent to King Irak'li (Heraclius) to assist him against the Turks and Lesgi, by whom he was hard pressed. He however soon perceived the impossibility of opposing his enemies as an independent prince for any length of time, and therefore submitted in 1783 to the crown of Russia. His imbecile son Georgi succeeded him in the government, and on his death in 1800 several Georgian princes assembled and sent deputies to St. Petersburg, to implore the emperor to make their country a Russian province, and thus to secure it from all the hostile attacks of its neighbours. Their wish was immediately complied with, and Georgia ceased from that time to be governed by native sovereigns.

"In consequence of this submission, it was resolved at St. Petersburg to reduce by degrees the whole of the Caucasus, and to extend the boundaries of the empire to the river Arass (Araxes). The first step was the occupation of Daghestan and Imereti, by which the yet unsubdued mountaineers became completely surrounded by the Russian territory, and will thus probably soon be compelled to acknowledge themselves vassals of the political Colossus of the north.

"No sooner was there any hope of effecting the augmentations which are actually taking place, than the court of St. Petersburg began to think of procuring accurate information relative to the Caucasus. It was not with the physical properties only of these mountains that it was desirous of becoming acquainted, but also with the manners of their inhabitants and their mutual relations. With this view it was that in 1767 the great empress issued commands that the whole empire should be visited by members of the Academy of Sciences, as well to describe the topography of its provinces as to examine their productions and inhabitants. In this important enterprise the Caucasus and Georgia fell to the share of Professor * Gldenstdt; and a fitter person could not have been chosen, for he surpassed in erudition and zeal all his colleagues sent out on similar expeditions. For three years he resided among these celebrated mountains, or in their vicinity: but a premature death unfortunately prevented him from publishing his observations himself. Much that was deficient in his manuscripts, and in particular all the observations which he had made on the manners and customs of the Caucasians during his long residence among them, he intended to supply from memory. His papers were committed to an editor who neither knew any thing of the countries which Gldenstdt had visited, nor

* In the Imperial Academy of Sciences at St. Petersburg there were formerly Professors; but since it received a different form, that title has very properly been disused.

entered upon the task with sufficient spirit to adopt as his own the work of another, or to be anxious to set it off to the best advantage. Hence it is that the part of *Güldenstädt's* travels which relates to the Caucasus, though indeed systematic and excellent in its plan, is not sufficiently digested, and that the names are disfigured by an incredible multitude of errors of the press, which are the more unpardonable as *Güldenstädt* wrote a very legible hand, and was particularly solicitous to give foreign words with accuracy.

"After him *Reineggs*, the adventurer, visited the Caucasus in company with the Hungarian Count *Kohary*, who supported him, and whose heir he became in *Tiflis*: but his extremely superficial description of these mountains, in which half of his statements are either erroneous or false, was garbled by an ignorant editor, and is in some degree useful only to such as are intimately acquainted with the Caucasus, and are capable of detecting its misrepresentations.

"Several travellers have since that time visited the Caucasus and its vicinity with a view to the natural history of those regions; but we have been favoured with very few historical observations on its inhabitants, or none at all, at least through the medium of the press. The worthy Count *John Potooki*, who resided at the foot of the Caucasus during the winter of 1797-1798, and whom I had the honour to accompany in the Russian embassy to China, conceived that he should render a service to the sciences in causing a new expedition to be undertaken to these countries, for the purpose of elucidating their topography, history, and language alone: and he had formed so favourable an opinion of my abilities for such an enterprise, that he pitched upon me for the execution of the plan. This he communicated to the then President of the Imperial Academy of Sciences, who himself submitted it to the Academy: it was adopted, as might naturally have been expected, by that body, which likewise approved the Count's choice of me to travel in the Caucasus."

We cannot, in this place, avoid stopping to remark the wisdom and sound policy of the Russian government in planning their expeditions of general investigation or discovery. The method is worth copying by every government, and we particularly recommend it to the cabinet of our own country, which might derive at least equal advantage from such expeditions; and which, with the exception of a few brilliant undertakings, has not paid a due attention to this important concern. For the expedition "into the interior of Africa" *Mr. Mungo Park* was properly selected, upon the recommendation of *Sir Joseph Banks*; but there does not appear to have been any one definite object or series of objects in the view of Government. *Mr. Park* himself was applied to by the minister of the colonial department, as we learn from his life lately published under the sanction of the African Institution, for *his own opinions* "both as to the plan of the expedition, and the particular objects towards which he conceived, that his attention ought to be chiefly directed during the intended jour-

ney." It is true indeed, that he had afterwards a paper of official instructions by which he was to be guided; but it is equally true that these instructions were founded upon his own answer to the minister who applied to him; and that in this official document he is appointed and called upon to "ascertain, (for such are the minister's own words) the various points stated in the memoir which he had delivered on the 14th of October last." The time of commencing the expedition was a matter of conjecture for a long period after he had been appointed to its superintendence. "After all was ready at Portsmouth for the embarkation, and part of the troops destined for the service were actually on board, the expedition was suddenly countermanded; and the question, whether it should finally proceed to Africa or not, was reserved for the decision of Lord Camden, who shortly afterwards succeeded Lord Hobart in the colonial department." * In effect the disembarkation did not take place till nearly a twelvemonth afterwards, and the disappointed and mortified traveller, who was to be the representative of the British throne in unknown regions was, for the greater part of this period, left to a doubtful and precarious subsistence, upon the mere personal "*suggestion*" of some person in authority, that he might employ the interval *with great advantage* in improving himself in the practice of taking astronomical observations, and in acquiring some knowledge of the Arabic language. He was at the same time informed that any *reasonable expense* which he might incur *in acquiring this instruction* would be reimbursed to him by government. †

We have far more pleasure however in adding that after the expedition was finally acceded to, "the amount of the compensation which Mr. Park was to receive for this service was settled with a commendable liberality on the part of government, and entirely to Mr. Park's satisfaction." ‡ Our chief reason, indeed, for selecting this particular example is that, at the moment of our writing, another expedition is in train for the same quarter, in which we have reason to apprehend that a little more of the Russian mode of procedure in respect to definition of object, and practical and scientific capacity in those who have the superintendence of it, would give us a somewhat fairer chance of success.

The system of a minute attention to specific objects, determined upon by numerous consultations with the best informed and most experienced characters of the country, and of extreme caution in selecting persons fully qualified for accomplishing such objects, was first laid down by Peter the Great; and it is to the operation of this important rule that we are indebted among other useful

* Park's Travels, vol. ii. Life, p. xxxvii.

† Id. p. xxxvii.

‡ Id. p. 1.

communications, for the valuable natural history of the Arctic regions, furnished us by Daniel Amadeus Messerschmidt, and for the discoveries of Behring, Spangberg, and Tchirikof on the shores of Kamtschatka, and the northernmost coasts of Siberia. But it was the comprehensive mind of Catharine II. that first saw the benefit which would result to all objects of this kind, from calling in the collective advice of the Imperial Academy of Sciences, and making it in future a part of the duty of this learned body to examine and point out what scientific expeditions, whether at home or abroad, would be most advantageous to the interests of the country, or of mankind at large; to select from their own body those best qualified for executing them, and to furnish them with specific instructions for their government and guidance. From this liberal and discreet regulation, have flowed the important and successive labours of S. G. Gmelin, Pallas, Amadeus Georgi, Falk, Forskal, Lepekhin, Gldenstdt, and Potocki. The Imperial Academy has done itself the greatest credit by this judicious appreciation of talents; and the harvest of inestimable fruit collected by these learned and useful men, together with the proofs they have afforded of a profound knowledge in natural history, chorography, mineralogy, antiquities, and astronomy, are become a lasting monument of their zeal and unwearied activity, and admirable fitness for the posts to which they were appointed.*

It was in prosecution of the same plan, and in order to determine the real value and resources of a new and very extensive region, which the Russian government had just resolved upon annexing to its own dominions, that M. Julius von Klaproth was appointed a successor to these distinguished travellers, and commissioned to explore the recesses and confines of the Caucasus. The result of his investigations, so far as they are yet before the public, proves sufficiently that the credit of the Imperial Academy has lost nothing by their choice in the present instance. The author has hitherto given us only the first volume of his travels, which is nearly confined to what we may call the *superficial* geography of the various nations he has visited, and a description of their customs, manners, languages, opinions, and traditions. The subjects of botany, zoology, and mineralogy, which are here but scantily touched upon, will, we trust, form part of another volume, which, we understand, is already in preparation.

The territories of the Caucasus, though among the oldest inhabited countries in the world, and the cradle of most of the nations of Europe, may be regarded as regions hitherto undescribed, and almost unknown. In Niebuhr, Chardin, and San-

* For a particular account of the travels and writings of these celebrated characters, see Bachmeister's *Russische Bibliothek*, tom. i. and ii.

son, we meet with a few scattered hints; but with nothing full or satisfactory. The *Derbend-nameh* (History of Derbend), written in the Tartar tongue, by Mohammed Awabi Akraschi, and the History of the Tartars by Abulhasi Bahadun Chan, are reported to be more fruitful of matter, but we have never had an opportunity of examining them, nor does the latter seem to have been open to the consultation of M. Klaproth. It was to the few learned travellers who have preceded him from the same spot, and the same appointment, that he had chiefly to turn for information before he commenced his excursion; and from whom, almost exclusively, the general geographers of the present day have drawn their limited and unsatisfactory descriptions; either directly from their own writings, or through the medium of Müller's *Sammlung*, *Russische*, the *Beschreibung* of Marshal von Biberstein, or the *Russische Bibliothek* of Bachmeister, to which we have already referred. Still, however, the materials were scanty; for no academical traveller had hitherto been appointed to explore expressly the border tribes of the Caucasus, and the task had been kept in reserve for M. von Klaproth. There is one traveller, however, whose writings could not fail of proving useful to him; who stored up his observations made during a residence of many years in the same quarter: we mean M. Reineggs—"Reineggs the Adventurer," as he is contemptuously called in the present work. We were sorry to meet with this little burst of academical pomp and jealousy, so unworthy of the writer and of the subject. It is true, M. Reineggs was no *academician*; but it is equally true, that he has not merited the title of *adventurer*. He was a man of learning and information, fond of travelling, and, on account of these good qualities, engaged by Count Kohary to accompany him in a visit to the Caucasian regions. He was fortunate enough to acquire the confidence and friendship of this spirited Hungarian nobleman, who, unhappily for the cause of science, was suddenly attacked at Tiflis, the capital of Georgia, with an illness which soon terminated fatally; and as the strongest proof of regard he could show to M. Reineggs, appointed him his executor on his death-bed, and bequeathed to him the greater part of his property. M. Reineggs, however, had had the misfortune to anticipate the present writer in very nearly the same line of travel, and the celebrity of his *Kaukasus*, published in Germany in two volumes, octavo, seemed to stand a little in the way of M. Klaproth's rising reputation; on which account it has been necessary to throw both M. Reineggs and his editor into a shade; to accuse the latter of ignorance, and the former of the very extraordinary crime of writing a book which can be useful to those only who are acquainted with the subject. "His extremely su-

perfidious description of these mountains," says M. von Klaproth, "in which half of his statements are either erroneous or false, was garbled by an ignorant editor, and is in some degree useful to such only as are intimately acquainted with the Caucasus, and are capable of detecting its misrepresentations." In the progress of the work before us, however, we have sufficient proofs that our traveller found the *Kaukasus* of Reinegg useful to him on other accounts, and before he became capable of detecting its occasional errors; and we know it to be a book which has hitherto been studied in connexion with the *Reise* of Gldenstdt, the *Southern Provinces* (*Sdland. Statthalten*) of Pallas, the *Histoire Primitive* of Potocki, and the celebrated *Podrobnaja Karta*, which, in various instances, it admirably explains and illustrates. We can confidently state, that it has acquired the good opinion of M. Lehrberg, to whose judgment the writer before us will bow with deference; and we believe it to have been equally studied by his own friends, Count Potocki and M. von Krug.

But it is high time that we should accompany our author in his career. Being furnished with his *podoroshnaja*, or travelling passport, and, with what is quite as necessary, the requisite funds for the purpose, he left St. Petersburg in September, 1807, and made the best of his way to Nowgorod, the capital of the old Slavonian monarchy; nor shall we stop him in his career for a moment, except to give him an opportunity of stating to the public the means devised by the Russian government for enabling its couriers to proceed with unexampled rapidity; a point of the utmost importance in an empire of so prodigious a range.

"At all the stations several sets of horses are reserved expressly for couriers, and these no other person has a right to demand. Hence it is that the Russian messengers travel with such incredible expedition as would puzzle a German post-master, were he to bestow due reflection on the matter. Thus the couriers who attended the embassy to China were allowed only twenty-two days to go from Irkutsk to St. Petersburg, a distance of 859 German miles, that is, thirty-nine miles in every twenty-four hours." *

Nowgorod has been so frequently and so fully described in most of the modern languages of Europe, that M. von Klaproth has little that is new, and nothing that is important, to relate; and we shall leave him, therefore, to pursue his course till he has fairly crossed the Don, and fixed himself in the bosom of the Calmucks.

* "The proportion between an English and a German mile is as 1 to 4 $\frac{1}{2}$; consequently these men must have travelled at the astonishing rate of 180 miles a day. T."

"The Calmucks are a branch of the Mongol nation, which even in modern times has almost always, and even by several persons eminent for their historical researches, been confounded with the Tartar, though totally different from the latter in features and language. The ancestors both of the Mongols and the Calmucks now resident in Europe dwelt, so lately as the beginning of the 11th century of our era, to the north and on the borders of the lake of Baikal in eastern Siberia, where they roved about with their herds of horses. The horse seems to have been the only domestic animal which they possessed, and they were strangers to the use of the metals, with the exception of copper; for the words which in their language denote these objects, as well as the names of other necessaries of life, are all of Tartar origin; whence it is very probable that they derived their knowledge of those things themselves from the Tartars who inhabited the countries to the south of them, and who were rather more civilized than they. At that time the whole region between China and Siberia, from the upper Amur and the branches of that river to the Caspian Sea, was inhabited by nations speaking the Tartar language.

"In 1135 the Chinese history makes the first mention of the Mongols southward of the Baikal under the denomination of *Munn'u* or *Munn'kass*. They were inured to hardship, cruel and good warriors, could see at night though ever so dark, and wore armour made of the skin of the fish *gian*, which was proof against arrows discharged at them. From the history of Dshingish-chan we find that they called their then country Gurban-gol, that is, *the three rivers*, because it was situated between the Kerulun, Onon, and Tula. Deshauterayes conceives that this can be no other than the tract lying between the Ssunn'gari, Nonni, and Amur, and supports his conjecture with the circumstance that the country of the Mongols produces the dear medicinal root Shin-schenn; but this is founded on a false translation of Father Mailla, who has mistaken the Mandshu words *Orcho-i-da*, *roots of plants*, for the nearly similar term *Orcho-da*, which signifies *Shin-schenn*.

From the most ancient times the Mongols seem to have been divided into two principal nations, which Dshingis-chan reunited, and thus laid the foundation of the formidable power of the Mongols, who overran all Asia and struck terror into Europe. But immediately after the partition of the monarchy erected by him, they were again separated by old dissensions, and have since frequently made war upon one another to their mutual destruction. The Mongols proper, who border on China, and are subject to that empire, form one of these nations, and the Uirüt the other.

The Mongols proper are divided into several tribes, and to them belong also the Chalcas, the tribe which gave birth to Dshingis-chan. The Uirüt, on the other hand, are composed of four grand subdivisions, the Oelöt or Eleuthes (Calmucks), Choit, Tümmüt, and Barga-Burat or Buriittes. The latter inhabited Siberia, and are the most widely extended Mongol tribe in that country. The other Mongol tribes, which, like those just mentioned, are subject to Russia, pay a moderate tribute to the crown, and also serve without pay as Cos-

sacks on the Chinese frontiers. Some still have their petty hereditary princes or *Taischa*; but there are cases when, on the failure of their issue, other opulent families are raised to that rank. Most of them have for their chiefs *Ssaissans*, whose appointment, as well as the confirmation of the high ecclesiastical dignitaries, depends entirely on the Russian commanders in chief. Next to these come the *Schülunga*, who are below the *Ssaissans* in rank, and who have under them inferior officers denominated *Sassul*. These persons indeed administer justice among their tribes; but their authority is limited, inasmuch as every individual who possesses the means may appeal to the Russian magistrates. Many of these officers pay the tribute for the whole tribes in specie out of their own pockets, and in the hunting season collect with usury the quota of each person under their jurisdiction.

"No people of Asia are so strikingly distinguished by their physiognomy and the figure of the skull as the Mongols. They exhibit almost as wide a deviation from the ordinary conformation of man, as the negroes in Africa; and it is truly remarkable that this cast of countenance is almost indelible even by long intermixture with other nations; and that where this singularity once prevails it can scarcely ever be eradicated. A Mongol might marry an European woman in the midst of Europe, and his latest descendants would nevertheless retain the features of Mongols, as abundance of examples in Russia attest. The characteristics of this physiognomy are the corners of the eyes next to the nose running back rather obliquely, and completely filled up; small eyebrows, black, and but little arched; a remarkably broad but at the same time small and flat nose; prominent cheek-bones; round face and head. The ears are large, and stand out from the head; the lips broad and thick; and the chin short. A beard composed of detached strong hairs, which soon grow gray, and entirely fall off in advanced age, is likewise a peculiarity of this nation.

"The Mongols are for the rest of middle size; the women may be pronounced small, but yet they are delicately shaped. There are scarcely any cripples among them; but crooked legs and thighs are a very common personal defect, which arises from the circumstance that infants already in their cradle are constantly placed astride on a kind of spoon, and, as soon as they can go alone, are obliged to travel on horseback upon every removal to a fresh pasturage. The skin and complexion of the Mongols is by nature tolerably fair; at least this is the case with all young children: but the custom of the common people, whose children of the male sex run about stark naked in the sun and in the smoke of their tents, and among whom likewise the men generally sleep in summer with no other covering than their under garment, occasions their ordinary colour to be a sallow brown. The women, on the contrary, are very white under their clothes, and among people of quality you meet with faces of a delicately fair complexion, still further heightened by the blackness of the hair; and which in these respects, as well as in the features themselves, bear a strong resemblance to the figures in Chinese paintings.

"All the Mongols lead a roving life, and dwell in moveable felt-

tents, commonly called *Jurts* or *Kibitkas*, (in Mongol *Gür*). They are circular and of different dimensions, and rest upon lattice-work about four feet high, which is held together by borders above and below, but may easily be taken to pieces. The skeleton of the habitation, which stands upon this frame, is composed of poles which meet at top. These are covered with thick gray or white felt, which, among the more opulent people, are worked at the borders with cords of plaited hair. They are tied round with hair-ropes, which keep them fast, and only one opening is left for an entrance, which is closed externally with a felt curtain.

“ The Calmucks are a tribe of the Oirät or Dorbon Oirät, that is, of the four confederates, called by the Mongols Oelöt. According to an ancient tradition current among them, the greatest and most powerful part of the Oelöt, having migrated westward and proceeded as far as Asia Minor, afterwards settled about the Caucasus. On this the rest of the Oelöt, who remained in Great Tartary, received from their Tartar neighbours the name of *Ckälmac*, which signifies *those who staid behind*, from the verb *ckälmac*, to stay behind, which is still used in modern Turkey, and from this appellation the *Calmuck* of the Europeans is derived. •

We have been desirous of introducing our readers to an acquaintance with this honest offset of the great radical tree of the Mongols, for the sake of giving a particular account of their religion, which is Lamism in its purest and most pleasing character, and which is here more explicitly, and, apparently more correctly unfolded, than we remember to have seen in any prior work. It is a singular fact that the Calmucks and other Oirät tribes should be indebted for this benevolent system of superstition to Genghischan, a tyrant who may challenge the world for his equal in carnage and cruelty. •

“ According to a Mongol original work, entitled *Spring of the Heart*, the earliest traces of the Lama religion among the Mongols are met with at the time of Dshingis-chan. After this conqueror had laid a solid foundation for his new monarchy, he penetrated, in the year 1209, into the north of China, which was then subject to the Tungusian nation of the Niu-dschi,* and in 1215 made himself master of their capital Yan-ginn, the modern Pe-king. Before his armies entered Tibet, he sent an embassy to Bogdosott-nam Dsimmo, a Lama high-priest, with a letter to this effect: ‘ I have chosen thee as high-priest for myself and my empire; repair then to me, and promote the present and future happiness of men. I will be the supporter and protector; let us establish a system of religion, and unite it with the monarchy,’ &c. The high-priest accepted the invitation, and the Mongol history literally terms this step *the period of the first*

* This dynasty was termed in Chinese *Gin*, that is, the golden; and its sovereigns are the Altun-chans of the historians of western Asia.

respect for religion, because the monarch, by his public profession, made it the religion of the state."

"The propagation of this new religion, therefore, occasioned the erection of numerous temples and other religious places in Mongolia. The history of that country relates that the first temples in the empire were built on the river, and in the province of Scharrü-Gol, that is to say, without and to the north of the Chinese wall, and in the like direction from Liao-dunn, and that convents and schools were founded at the same time.

"They call their temples Dazzang, Kiet, and Sümme. They are built of stone and wood. Among the roving tribes they are ordinary felt-huts, but of superior dimensions, and more solid and handsome than those which are used for habitations. It is in very few places in Mongolia that you meet with temples of stone, and that only in such settlements as have a large population and considerable markets. Numberless small temples are to be found in the great and small hordes; for every tribe and district has for each of its divisions a particular temple, to which and to no other it belongs, according to the regulations established among them."

We have not space for detailing the curious decorations and multiplied utensils, which form the apparatus and furniture of these sacred edifices. Suffice it to observe, that the former consists for the most part of grotesque paintings, carved work, and images of different saints and deities in the traditional characters they have sustained, or actions they have performed, or the symbols that are appropriated to them: and that among the latter, we meet especially with vessels for holy-water called bumbas, for the purpose of consecration, fine polished mirrors, altars with proper dishes and *shalsas* or meat-offerings; *kürdlä*, or hollow cylinders of various sizes, filled in the interior with sacred texts, and prayers, coral rosaries, bells, and musical instruments of various constructions. Of these last the most curious is the great drum *Kängärgü*, which is moved about upon legs of carved work,

"It is two or three *arschines* in diameter, about six *werschock* high, covered at both ends with camel-skin parchment, and on the outside commonly painted very curiously with dragons, and varnished. In the service of the temples it is hung upon poles, and beaten in very different times, both quick and slow, by means of a cudgel of regularly curved hard wood, covered at the upper end with leather, and provided with a handle at the lower. In the next place, a great *possaun* (*Burüh*) of brass, of singular workmanship, in three divisions, which are pushed out in blowing. The whole instrument is generally above a fathom in length, and when blown must be held by two persons, suspended from a pole. Further, metal plates, *Zang* and *Zelnäh*, of various sizes. In the middle is a round hollow with a broad brim, and they are beaten in time, at the public service, sometimes *piano*

and sometimes *forte*. Another metal instrument, *Charrangai*, is composed of a large plate with a curved border. It is hung up by cords, and struck by a stick. Small hautboys, *Bischkühr-Gangurih*, likewise a loud-toned wind instrument, made of the long arm-bone of a vanquished hereditary enemy. *Choncho*, or the priest's bell with its small brass sceptre. *Dängschäh*, a little metal bell, which is struck. *Dung*, the beautiful shell of an Indian sea-snail, which has a very piercing sound. Lastly, the *Domber*, a little drum, about the size of a very small flat saucer, beaten only by two large knots fastened to it by a short string. All these musical instruments have their prescribed uses, and belong to the sacred furniture of the temples and altars. The music itself is a mixture of tremendous sounds, which shake the whole temple, and would rather scare than attract the connoisseur. It is nevertheless perfectly regular in its way, by no means arbitrary, and the clergy are particularly nice in the choice of their musical pupils. Only the great drum, *Kängürgü*, the bells and bowls, *Zang*, are struck in time, to accompany the joyful psalms and hymns of praise to their gods, when the whole of the ecclesiastics join in these psalms, and in their general religious litanies, and thus give animation to their temple music. The remaining wind and other instruments are in general used in terrific exorcisms, but never with hymns of praise and litanies."

All their sacred books are acknowledged by themselves to be of Indian origin, translated first into the Tibetan, and from the Tibetan into the Mongol language. The most revered of them were taken down immediately from the lips of the great and holy Schigimuni by his disciple Ananda. There is some difficulty in identifying this Schigimuni, with any of the transcendent characters hitherto disclosed to us by Buddhists or Brahmins, Boodeas or Tibetians. He was probably the Proto-lama, or inventor of the hierarchy. He appears, however, to have been a most voluminous composer, and to have found employment enough for his amanuensis, if the good-natured credulity of our traveller has not been a little imposed upon by these honest Calmucks. For he tells us, upon their information, that one of his works alone consists of "*one hundred and eight prodigious volumes*;" to which has been assigned the name of *Gandshuhr* or *the Miraculous Pillar of religion*. It seems the venerable hierarch was determined to erect his church upon a foundation, as wide as the base of an Egyptian pyramid; "the whole work," we are informed, "is engraven in the Mongol language, and printed in two sizes, the one in long narrow Indian, and the other in Chinese *folio*." Yet even these 108 huge tomes do not give us the work in its perfect form; for there are still an appendix and an exposition, which considerably more than double its extent. To these volumes, observes M. von Klaproth, belong *twelve* more of mythology, called *Jömm*, and an exposition entitled *Dandshuhr*, composing in the whole

two hundred and forty volumes. So that the Lama catechist has a somewhat arduous undertaking; and would find the Vedas and Upavedas, the Angas and Upangas, of Benares, a mere horn-book in comparison with the ecclesiastical labours before him.

The Calmucks, it further appears, are cordial friends to an union of Church and State; for they intermix the consideration of both these subjects in all their high convocations and sacred assemblies; and, according to the account before us, they are, on all such occasions, actuated by a spirit of peace and good-will that might at times be advantageously copied by better informed communities.

“In the temples where all the ecclesiastics, and all their men of rank and elders in general, meet monthly for the purpose of divine worship, public concerns and national affairs, whether of a religious or political nature, are discussed by the whole assembly; as on such days the people from all the country round repair by hundreds, nay by thousands, to these solemnities. Nothing remarkable occurs of which they do not inform each other at these meetings, and on the subject of which they do not hold political conferences with their Lamas. The clergy and laity are on the most familiar footing. All of them are acute politicians, who view their constitution in its true light, and are actuated by the purest patriotism. The clergy govern all minds, and whether in unity or discord they invariably guide the helm. In all joint undertakings they are very resolute, but at the same time circumspect. They are fond of peace, and place their whole happiness in it, as is proved by their way of thinking and their declarations. Their system of religion is founded on purity of mind, rigid morality, and the welfare of the state and of mankind in general. No solemn prayer-day, no private devotions conclude without the most impressive and pathetic litanies and petitions for all ranks and classes of men. Of this religious system its votaries are extremely vain, and their law forbids them to compare it with any other. By religion they understand a distinct, independent, sacred moral code, which has but one origin, one source, and one object. This notion they universally propagate, and even believe that the brutes and all created beings have a religion adapted to their sphere of action. The different forms of the various religions they ascribe to the difference of individuals, nations, and legislators. Never do you hear of their inveighing against any creed, even against the obviously absurd Schaman paganism, or of their persecuting others on that account. They themselves, on the other hand, endure every hardship and even persecutions with perfect resignation, and indulgently excuse the follies of others, nay, consider them as a motive for increased ardour in prayer. Out of respect for other religions they even venerate the images of the Greek saints, burn lights before them, or sacrifice to them unobserved when they are travelling among the Russians. As to the miracles of foreign saints, they believe and declare that these are an universal work of God arising from the same source whence their own religion is derived. From motives of genuine religion they love all

men, and do all the good that lies in their power ; they one exhort the other to acts of benevolence, from a conviction that it behoves us to perform them not so much on account of others as for our own sakes. This notion they strive to propagate, because it is praiseworthy and becoming ; as every fellow-creature in distress has an equal right to succour."

The Lama religion is well known to possess a regular hierarchy ; and, like Brahminism, is pretty well ascertained to be a branch of Buddhism. The Dalai Lama of Thibet is the supreme head of the system ; he is held to be immortal and immaculate : the visible representation of the Deity upon earth, uniting temporal with spiritual power. Below him are Lamas of different gradations, priests of various orders and dignities, monks and nuns ; and in Thibet, though not among the Mongols, on account of their erratic mode of life, convents and nunneries. They hold in their creed the doctrines of a divine unity, a divine trinity, an incarnate God, a mother-goddess, holy angels, and beatified saints, a purgatory, and transmigration of souls, heaven and hell. In their rites and ceremonies they use clerical dresses, incense, holy water, and rosaries ; they have regular religious festivals ; have a written belief, prayers and thanksgivings, psalms, and penitential hymns. These last are entirely of oriental composition. They are, it seems, drawn up with exquisite elegance and beauty by the hierophants of the greatest learning and eloquence, and are imbued with all the peculiar unction and animation, the glowing metaphors and high-toned enthusiasm, that characterise the Sufi or Yogi mysticism. We are happy in being able, from the volume before us, to present specimens in proof of this assertion. We believe them to be the first specimens that have hitherto been offered to the European world : for Capt. Turner, to whom we are indebted for the best account of Thibet we have hitherto received, and who was an eye-witness of the splendour and decorations, and the rites and ceremonies, of the Lama churches, has given us no examples of the church-service : and it is a fact not a little singular that we should be indebted for a knowledge of the ritual employed at the mother church of Thibet to the wild and roving Mongols scattered over the banks of the lake Baihal, or the northern sides of the Caucasus. The following is the Lama *Ittigel*, Creed or Confession of Faith, the greater part of which is repeated by the Mongols on all religious occasions at the commencement of their devotions.

" " To him who appeared in the ten regions of the universe, and in all the three ages, as the first cause of all things ; to him who overcame the 84,000 obstacles to holiness by a like number of celestial precepts ; to this greatest of high priests and source of all the saints that ever appeared, be all honour of faith !

" " To *Burchan* (God) be all honour of faith ! To the *Nomm* (hea-

venly doctrines) be all honour of faith ! To the *Bursang-Chubrakgoot* (propagators of the doctrines) be all honour of faith !

“ ‘ To the whole hosts of immaculate saints be all honour of faith ! To the most glorious and sublime protection of religion be all honour of faith ! ’ ”

“ These strophes are thrice repeated.

“ To the most righteous founder of all religion, his precepts and his instruments, be given by me, till I shall once attain my holy consummation, all honour of faith ! May my imitation of all works pleasing to God tend to his due glorification in the sight of all creatures ! ’ ”

“ This paragraph is also thrice repeated.

“ ‘ To this threefold holy system be given by me all honour of faith ! For wicked actions I confess myself to be full of constant penitence. Ah ! may my sole delight consist in zealous endeavours to do good, as my duty commands, to all creatures ! May thy divine-human example be the guide of my heart ! Not only for the honour of thy threefold meritoriousness, but likewise for the performance of my duty, I wish to possess this degree of perfection. By the fulfilment of this duty may I become an example for the imitation of all creatures ! May the object and way of all holy and meritorious examples be acknowledged with the most upright mind, and in the most cheerful manner ! For the welfare of all creatures we will glorify this in thee ! ’ ”

“ This part is likewise thrice repeated.

“ ‘ O that all creatures might be grounded in prosperity and happiness ! O that all may be constantly kept at a distance from all tribulation and distress ! May they be always undivided from felicity, and unassailed by affliction ! O that all creatures might remain severed from the two most dangerous of evils, lust and revenge ! ’ ”

“ This is also thrice repeated. Whoever follows these examples is out of all danger from sensuality.

“ ‘ To all true expositions, to all and each propagator of salvation, and instrument of the Most Holy, be honour and adoration !—He, the most perfect of beings himself, taught this, and thus prayed to his elementary principle. Therefore to this primary system (which he himself adored) be at all times honour and adoration ! To him, who by his glorious, resplendent beams dissipates all doubt-creating darkness, to the profound and immeasurable Sammandabadrih, be all honour and adoration ! Thou who art become the faith of the whole world ; thou who alone conqueredst all the inextinguishable assailing hosts, perfectly glorified holiness ! be pleased to descend into this place. In the same manner as at thy birth the principalities of heaven performed thy first consecration and baptismal mass with the purest celestial water, so I venture to renew the sacred rite by this representation. With a look of pure faith at thy former existence, I perform this act in gentlest manner. O that in this representation I may find and contemplate thee, once glorified, as thou really art ! O that all creatures in the universe, pursuing the flowery road which leads to thy kingdom, where incense fills all the atmosphere, and the firmament is bedecked with sun, moon, and planets, may arrive in the pure regions of thy righteousness ! ’ ”—

Their chief incarnate deity is denominated, somewhat quaintly and cacophonously indeed, the great *Chomschin-Boddissaddo*; and the universal *mother-goddess*, or *godhead's motherhood*, *Darrah-Ekke*. No very precise idea, however, seems to be affixed to this last term. It is a collective noun, or noun of multitude, signifying sometimes the great body of female saints, and sometimes the haram of wives belonging to the high and mighty Chomschin-Boddissaddo. One of these deified females is portrayed in a white and another in a sea-green dress. The former was an Indian, and the latter a Chinese princess; evidently alluding to the particular branch of the Lama church established in these two divisions of Asia; and hence there can be no doubt that the pure and deified Darrah-Ekke, in the collective sense of the term, is an emblem of the universal Lama church—the fair and unspotted bride of Chomschin-Boddissaddo—the great incarnate teacher of the world according to the Lama creed.

The Lamas of Mongol have also their books of penitential hymns; and the following is a copy of one of them. It is addressed to the Proto-Lama Schigimuni, who seems to have been Chomschin-Boddissaddo himself, or to have followed him under another incarnation.

“All the wickedness and injustice of this life, as well as all that I have committed during numberless transmigrations in conjunction with my body; all the crimes which, instead of preventing, I connived at and myself perpetrated; when I either destroyed sacred things or abetted the destroyers of them; when I either robbed or assisted robbers; when I either myself violated the ten duties, was a wilful accomplice of transgressors, or seduced others to transgress; in all and every temptation into which I have ever fallen, and by which I have deserved the punishment of hell, a renewed existence in the undesirable regions, in the bodies of brutes, or in false and unbelieving bodies: in all and each of those points in which I unreservedly and without disguise acknowledge myself guilty, I throw myself upon thine omniscience and thy long-suffering. Have I ever during these manifold transmigrations laid a foundation for probity and holiness by the performance of my duties, were it only by refreshing animals with a little food; this shall serve as the commencement of my observance of those duties, and stimulate me not only in the present state, but in all future transmigrations, to aspire to holiness of life and perfection—I renounce all sin—I engage to strive with all my power to fulfil my duty as a created being. I implore the support of the example of all the saints! May these my sincerest wishes be accomplished!”

It has long been agreed that Buddhism, Brahminism, and Lamism, are modifications of one common religion. Much of their ritual, most of their prominent doctrines, and all their chief idols and images, are the same, and all pay homage to the sacred volume of the Veda. Whether the system of Buddha, or that

of Brahma is of higher antiquity has been a matter much disputed by those who have explored the theosophy of India, while there is no question that the introduction of Lamism is far posterior to both the others. It is curious to observe and trace out the difference which subsists between them, in respect to the political feature of casts. Primarily, or under the religion of Buddha, these seem to have been few and simple, in no instance hereditary, and little more than communities of profession, art, or trade, into which the different branches of any family might enter at their option; the highest in rank being that of arms or legislation, and the second that of the priesthood; and such we find it, or nearly such, in the present day, wherever Buddhism has maintained its supremacy, as in the Birman empire, Siam, and Ceylon. Brahma, whose prevailing passions were pride and ambition, and whose cunning was equal to both, in his new exposition of the ancient faith, surrounded each of the various casts with an indissoluble chain, added one or two casts to the original number, asserted their divine institution and hereditary descent, and solemnly pronounced his own, or that of the priesthood, to be supreme, and possessed of innate sanctity.

It is frequently believed that the natives of India are not only acquiescent under this artful system of degradation and slavery, but indignantly spurn at every attempt to emancipate them; yet it is very well known that all the casts, except the loftiest, or Brahminical, are perpetually looking forward with a longing eye to the accomplishment of some loose traditionary prophecy, which they are told is referred to in the Upanishads, or some of the inferior Sastras, and foretells that the time will arrive when all the various casts shall be dissolved into one; or, in other words, when this oppressive and inexorable regulation shall be abolished. While the hardy and independent Seiks, that lie scattered over the whole breadth of the Penjab, from the Indus to the Jumna, the traditionary cradle of Brahminism, have not waited for a consummation so devoutly to be wished, but have abruptly cut the Gordian knot, cast off the Brahminical fetters, abjured the Brahminical faith, and renounced the connexion of Brahma himself, and of his thousand and one relations, male, female, and androgynous; fish, flesh, and fowl.

Mahamoonie, Chomschin-Boddissaddo, Schiginumih, or whatever may have been the name of the grand Tibetan innovator upon Buddhism, appears to have been sensible of the error of Brahma, in thus imposing upon his votaries a burden too heavy to be borne. He was, possibly, also, a man of a more liberal disposition; and hence the reform he projected has run in an opposite direction, and is calculated to attract and captivate the assent of the Eastern nations by the charm of liberty, and the

splendour of pomp and ceremony. He totally abolished the doctrine of casts; left every one free to pursue the bent of his own genius, ordained the erection of appropriate and richly ornamented temples, appointed stated times for public worship, and composed a litany full of lofty eloquence and the most ardent devotion. The plan bade fair for success, and has obtained it; and hence, though of far later origin than Brahminism, it has spread to three or four times its extent, and rivals the dominion of Buddhism itself. Far too much stress has, therefore, been laid upon the attachment of the votaries of Bramah to the oppressive distinction of casts. It has always been the chief obstacle to the progress of this religion in the East; an obstacle which those who submit to it are secretly panting to get rid of; which did not belong to the parent faith; and which various tribes have shaken off, at the expense of the whole system of their religion.

In reviewing the principal doctrines of these associate modifications of superstition, they seem to present us with a strange intermixture of Gymnosophism and Christianity; of the doctrines of the metempsychosis, abstinence from animal food, universal toleration, and good will towards all creatures, and all things, peculiarly characteristic of the first; and of the doctrines of a triune Godhead, and an incarnate Deity, the great characteristics of the second.

"Whenever," says Mr. Turner, "I heard these congregations, they forcibly recalled to my recollection, both the solemnity and the sound of the Roman Catholic mass."* In like manner M. Levesque, one of the most intelligent members the French Institute has ever possessed: "Les ressemblances que nous venons d'observer entre quelques pratiques du Lamisme et notre culte extérieur, ont fait croire à des savans que la religion du Tibet n'était qu'un Nestorianisme corrompu. Ce sont ces même conformités qui ont fait dire à Rubruquis que les Onigours étaient Chrétiens; ce sont elles, enfin, qui ont fait donner au Dalai-Lama le nom de Prêtre-Jean."†

M. Levesque, however, is not disposed to regard the religion of Thibet as a corruption of Christianity: we ought rather, says he, to seek for its origin in India, where originated the doctrine of the transmigration of souls; and to ascribe the ornamental dresses of the Tibetan priests to the same desire for finery, which induced the Christian Church, in an early period, to borrow similar decorations from the Greeks, as the Greeks had done from the Egyptians.

* Embassy to the Court of the Teshoo Lama, in Tibet, ch. ix. p. 307.

† Hist. de Russie, tom. VII. ch. xviii.

But this is rather to shrink from the question than to follow it up. The Syro-Indian Christians, who lie scattered over the interior of Travancore and Malabar, amidst all the varieties of fortune, which they have encountered, have enjoyed a regular hierarchy very nearly from the times of the Apostles, probably still retain the colloquial language, in which the Apostles discoursed, and use a distinctive sacerdotal dress, which they cannot be supposed to have copied either from Greece or Egypt. Admitting that the doctrines of the Tibetan religion were borrowed from India, from what quarter were those of India borrowed?—those more especially which bear the semblance of a Christian complexion and texture? Let us take the doctrine of the divine incarnation as an example; the Creator of the world born without the stain of fleshly intercourse into the world, in the form of an infant, to become the Saviour of the world by his precepts and example, by his life and death, by his humiliation and exaltation. M. Volney has included Christianity amidst the *affiliated* religions, as he has denominated them, which have issued from the same cradle as those of Thibët, Pegu, and the Deccan. But where are we to look for this cradle? Where are we to turn for the doctrine before us? exhibited in its purity and integrity, in a lucid and intelligible form, in the Christian Scriptures; and in a mangled and dislocated state, with a thousand absurd appendages, in the associate systems of southern and eastern Asia? We shall search for the doctrine in vain among the idolatries of Polynesia or of Mexico, in the traditions of the Scalds or of the Druids, in the Zend-avesta of Persia, or the hieroglyphics of Egypt. It was never imported into Greece by its earliest sages or poets, and is hence equally unknown to its philosophy and mythology. The *Kings*, or sacred books of the Chinese, compiled by Confucius, or antecedent to him, have no reference to it; whilst, in its corrupt and complicated shape of multiplied incarnations or avatars, it comprises a part of the religion of the Chinese court of the present day, for the mere reason that the Chinese throne is in the hands of a dynasty of Mantcheux Tartars, who were early converts to the Lama persuasion.

It seems difficult, then, if not impossible to avoid acceding to the one or the other of these two positions; that the Christian community has derived this doctrine from the religion of Buddha, of Brahma, or of Thibet; or that these religions have derived it from the Christian creed. The first position, however, cannot stand for a moment; as it is contradicted by the clearest, most unequivocal, and most incontrovertible testimony of history that is any where to be found on human records; which distinctly and satisfactorily accounts for the origin of this doctrine. The difficulties that attend the second position are, the high antiquity of

the eastern Shastras, or sacred writings, and of the Sanscrit, or sacred language, in which they are chiefly written.

With respect to the first difficulty we beg to observe, that nothing is loser or more unsettled than the assumed chronology of the Vedantis; who deal out chiliads and centuries as if they were of the same value, or of no value whatever; and who have never yet been able to settle the epoch of the incarnation or avatar of Buddha, Brahma, or even of Krishna, the first moving powers of the whole machinery next to Vishnu, by some thousands of years. The whole, however, hinges upon the real date of the Veda; for the lower we place this, the lower we shall necessarily reduce the pretensions to antiquity of all these, and a hundred other sages, or heroes, or philosophers, or personifications of whole colonies, who figure away in the Indian mythology, but whose names do not once occur in the first three books of the Veda, nor, with the exception of that of Krishna, in the fourth.

As the Veda consists of four distinct books, constituting collectively the body of Hindu Scripture, it is often spoken of disjunctively under the name of the *four Vedas*. Of the author of this work no one knows any thing. It is ascribed to Vishnu, to Krishna, to Brahma, to Vyasa; and is sometimes said to have been composed by the first, spoken by the second or third, and digested in its present shape by the fourth. Without entering, for a moment, into the extravagant notion of the Brahmins, whom we must not confound with the Brachmans of Herodotus and Arrian, that their antiquity exceeds, by some thousand years, the date usually assigned to the creation of the world, we shall only observe, that the highest date which can possibly be ascribed to them, in the opinion of Sir William Jones, is that of about three thousand years; and that this opinion is altogether hypothetical, and built upon uncertain, and, in some instances, untenable premises; although we admit it to be supported by similar conjectures on the part of M. Freret and M. Bailly. In vol. iii. p. 484, of the Asiatic Researches, Sir William asserts them to stand next in antiquity to the five books of Moses; and in his Preface to the "*Institutes of Menu*," he conceives the first three Vedas to have been composed about three hundred years before this work, and six hundred years before the Puranas, or book of Hindu Theogonies, which, in the general opinion of Sanscrit scholars, presses hard upon the antiquity of the Veda. Mr. Colebrooke concurs generally in the view of Sir William Jones, but cautions the reader that the opinion is founded on a vague and conjectural inference.* Mr. Mitford, however, maintains that the Puranas, calculated by Sir William Jones, and many other scholars, to be

* Asiat. Res. vol. vii. p. 284.

two thousand four hundred years old, "are certainly a *modern* compilation from valuable materials, which," says he, "I am afraid no longer exist." An astronomical observation of the heliacal rising of Canopus, mentioned in two of the Puranas, puts this beyond doubt.* Mr. Bentley reasons in a similar manner, and reduces the Puranas, so closely connected with the date of the Veda, to an origin equally recent. "It must be evident," says he, "that none of the modern romances, commonly called the Puranas, at least in the form they now stand, are older than 684 years, but that some of them are the compilations of still later times."† Even Mr. Coleman gives countenance to the same opinion, in respect to one of the Puranas, the *Sri*, or *Surya Bhagavata*, containing the life of Krishna.‡ "I am inclined," says he, "to adopt an opinion, supported by many learned Hindus, who consider the celebrated *Sri Bhagavata*, as the work of a grammarian, supposed to have lived about six hundred years ago." While, to come once more to the Vedas themselves, Mr. Wilkins, in his Preface to the *Gita*, or *Songs of Krishna*, observes that Krishna, throughout the whole of these, makes mention of three Vedas only, being the first three in their present order; the fourth, hereby proved to be a work even posterior to the *Gita*, makes mention of Krishna himself. "On this being remarked," says Mr. Wilkins, "to some Pundits who assisted in the translation, they expressed great astonishment at it, as it had escaped all the numerous commentators on the *Gita*."

The result of the whole is, that nothing is more uncertain than the chronology of the most esteemed sacred books of the Hindus: that the subject requires further investigation; but that every step we proceed in the progress of inquiry strips off some claim or other to a very high antiquity; that the Puranas seem fairly brought down to the twelfth or thirteenth century of the Christian æra; the fourth, and indeed all the Vedas, to a period very considerably within its limit; and, if the conjecture of Sir William Jones and Mr. Colebrook be correct, that these are anterior to the Puranas by not more than six hundred years, to the sixth or seventh century *since* the birth of our Saviour, instead of their ascending sixteen centuries *antecedently* to this epoch; and consequently that the respective inventors of Buddhism, Brahminism, and Manichæism, whose names are not to be found in the Vedas (not even in the *At'herva-Veda*, or lowest of the whole), must have flourished far subsequently to the dissemination of Christianity in Asia; many centuries, indeed, subsequently to the establishment of the Indo-Syrian hierarchy, on the coast of Malabar; and may,

* *Asiat. Res.* vol. v. p. 244. † *Id.* vol. viii. p. 240. ‡ *Id.* vol. viii. p. 462.

therefore, have had an opportunity of poaching upon its doctrines and ritual, and of corrupting and re-modelling them at their option.

With respect to the high antiquity of the Sanscrit language, in which the Hindu Sastras, or holy writings, are for the most part composed, it will not bear investigation for a moment. The whole of its arrangement, the extent and systematic order of its alphabet, the regular construction of its grammar, the classical polish of its style, give intuitive evidence that it could never have been the medium of oral communication in rude and barbarous ages; whilst the three earliest Vedas, or the first three books that pass under this name, are composed, not in the Sanscrit, but in the Pali tongue, a much simpler and more ancient language, the foundation of most of the dialects of eastern and western Asia, and the immediate parent of the refined and classical Sanscrit.

The subject is highly curious, and has carried us farther than we had intended. To our own country, however, it is not only curious, but very important, as being closely connected with the almost immeasurable range and growing interests of the British empire in the east. In the volume before us, that part of it which relates to the Tibetan religion is made of prominent importance, and extends to not less than nine chapters. Dr. Clarke, in his short residence among the Kalmucks, had no opportunity of examining into the nature of their religious service, notwithstanding an ardent desire which he seems to have felt so to do. He speaks of the high veneration which they manifest for their religious writings, and the great beauty of their sacred character. With much difficulty he succeeded in obtaining a transcript of a few passages; and adds, "I have used every endeavour, but in vain, since my return to England, to get this curious manuscript translated; nor has it been as yet decided in what language it is written."*

We shall now accompany M. Von Klaproth in his description of the Caucasian chain, the wandering tribes that lie scattered over its sides, and the means by which Russia has contrived to wrest them from the alternating grasp of Persia and the Porte. Georgia, or, as it is here written, Georgiewsk, is the present capital of the Caucasian government.

"It is a small, tolerably well fortified place on the left bank of the river, called by the Russians, Podkumok or Podkumka, by the Tscherkessians Gumeh, and which was formerly known also by the name of the Little Kuma. On the east and south side of the fortress the declivity is very abrupt, so that you can descend it but in very few places,

and with great inconvenience. Coarse sand and clay make their appearance; and in the sand are sometimes found small muscles either petrified or decayed. On the north side the town adjoins the *steppe*, and has an imperceptible descent towards the Cossack *stanitza*, about a verst distant. The ramparts of Georgiewsk itself, which forms a pentagon, though but of earth, are strongly fortified with cannon.—Within these few years, however, solid stone bastions and considerable works have been begun on the west side, where it is not defended by the precipice, and these will render the place impregnable against any attack of the mountaineers, who have neither artillery nor the least notion of the operations of a siege. The materials for building are furnished by the lime-stone quarries of the neighbouring Besch-tau.

“Georgiewsk, now the capital of the Caucasian government, was founded in 1777, on the formation of the Caucaso-Ckuban line. It is built in a regular and cheerful manner, but the houses in general are only of slight boarding, and you very rarely find one that is solid enough to secure its inhabitants in winter from the unpleasant and piercing winds of the *steppe*. The adjacent country is very agreeable, and the whole plain beyond the Podkuma overgrown with wood. Though there are no morasses in the vicinity, and the air is dry and clear, yet the climate of this place powerfully affects both strangers and natives, and towards the end of summer and in autumn produces such frequent fevers that there is scarcely a house which has not at least one patient confined with that disease.

“From this place you have a view of the whole chain of the Caucasus, as far as the Lesgian mountains; a spectacle which perhaps cannot be paralleled except in the *steppes* of Middle Asia, for in no other part of the old world is a plain so vast as the *steppe* of the Kuma bounded by such a lofty and extensive range. The Caucasus apparently forms two chains running parallel to each other, the highest covered with snow, and the lower or northern, which is commonly called the Black Mountains. The former are denominated by the Tartars Ckar Daghlar, but by the Tscherkessians, from Kasibeg to the Elbrus, Kurdsh; and the Black Mountains are named by the Russians Tschernoï Gory, in Tartar Ckara-Daghlar, and in Tscherkessian Kusch’ha.

“The loftiest mountains in the snowy chain are the Kasi-beg and the Elbrus; but the latter is by far the highest, and little inferior in elevation to Mont Blanc. It has never yet been ascended, and the Caucasians have a notion that no person can reach its summit without the special permission of the Deity. They likewise relate that here Noah first grounded with the ark, but was driven further to Ararat. The ascent from the south side would perhaps be the most practicable, did not the mountaineers throw innumerable obstructions in the way of such an enterprise. Its foot is totally uninhabited, and surrounded by marshes produced in summer by the melting of the snows. The Russians call this mountain Schat-gora; the Ckaratschai, Mingitau; the Tartars, Jalduss or Elbrus; the Armenians, Jalbus; the Tscherkessians, Uasch’hamako, that is, the *Gracious* or *Holy Mountain*; the Abasses, Orfi If’gub; and the Ssuânes, Passa. All the mountaineers have abundance of tales to relate concerning the evil spirits and dæmons

who dwell upon it; whose prince they call Dshin Pudischah, and of whose annual meetings they have invented as many fables as the North Germans respecting the assemblies of the witches on the Brocken. The other lofty mountain, which nearly terminates to the east the snowy range visible from Georgiewsk, is the Kasibeg, which in Georgian is named Mqinwari, but by the Ossetes Urss-choch, or the *White Mountain*.

"Respecting the origin and signification of the name Caucasus, there is a wide difference of opinion. The most ancient explanation of it we find in Pliny, who derives this word from the Scythian *Graucanus*, which is said to signify *nive candidus*. As, however, this etymology is not confirmed by any known language, and it is extremely improbable that the whole family of words to which it belongs should have been lost, it seems to carry very little weight, and to be equally unfounded with many others set up by the ancients. *Kaukas*, which is a foreign term in these mountains, may perhaps come from the Persian appellation *Koh-Châf*, which signifies the Mountains of *Châf**. The more ancient form of this word was probably *Châfssp* or *Cassp*, with the termination *Assp*, which was common in the Median dialects. From this ancient form the Caspian Sea and the nation of the Caspians probably received their name; for, according to the testimony of Eratosthenes (in Strabo), the people inhabiting the Caucasus called it the Caspian mountains—*Κασπίων ὄρη*. In Moses of Chorene it is named *Kowkass* and *Kankass*; and in the History of Georgia, compiled by the direction of King Wachtang the Fifth †, from the archives of the convents of Mzchetha and Gelathi, the most ancient boundaries of this country are thus described:—On the east it has the Gurganian Sea (Gurganissa), now called the Sea of Gilan; on the west the Pontic, otherwise the Black Sea; on the south the Orethian Mountains (*Orethissa*), situated in the country of the Kurds (*Khurthia*) towards Media; and on the north the Kawkasian Mountains (*Khawk'assia*), which are called by the Persians *Jalbus*." In the epitome of the history of the country, written by the Georgian prince Davith, and printed at Tiflis in 1798, the Caucasus is likewise styled from ancient authorities *K'awk'ass*. "The country belonging to him (to Thargamoss) was bounded on the east by the Gurganian Sea (that is, the Caspian); on the west by the Black Sea (which is the Pontus); on the south by the Arcessian mountains (those of Kurthistan); and on the north by the *K'awk'asian* ‡."

"All this sufficiently proves the antiquity of the name of Caucasus among the neighbouring nations; nevertheless at present it is but little used by the Asiatics, who commonly call this mountain by the Tartar name of *Jalbus*, that is, *Ice-manc*. In Tartar the appellation is properly *Jalbus thaghlar*, but among the Nogays I have likewise heard

* In Pehlwi, the ancient language of Media or Parthia, a mountain was called *Kof*, consequently the Caucasus was styled *Kof Châf*, or *Kof Cassp*.

† Wachtang Mechuthi Lewanssa tse, Wachtang, the Fifth, son of Lewan, reigned from 1703 to 1722, in Kharthli, which we erroneously call Karduel or Kartalinia.

‡ *Schemok'lebuli Istoria ssa Kharthuhloissa*, Brief History of Georgia, § 4. p. 84.

it pronounced *Jildis thaghlar*, in which case it signifies Mountains of the Stars. By the Turks the Caucasus is named *Ckáf Thâgi*, Mountains of Ckaf. The Georgians usually employ the Tartar term, and say *Jalbusiss Mtha*, Mount Jalbus. The Armenians call it Jalbusi-ssar, but the name of Kawkas also is still retained by them."

There are various other names for the Caucasian mountains, but of little importance to the geographer or paleologist; and only proving the political changes by which the country has been distinguished since the period of the Greek writers, and how numerous the tribes, and how diversified as to their dialects, by which it is at present inhabited.

In Chapter XIX. is a kind of diplomatic document, furnished for the present work by Count John Potocki, intended as a justification as well as explanation of the part which the court of St. Petersburg has been progressively taking during very nearly the last three centuries, in the general scramble for Asiatic territory between the three rival powers of Persia, Russia, and Turkey. The survey commences with the year 1555, in which the Tscherkessian (Circassian) Princes of Besch-tau, or the five Mountains, are said to have "submitted with their whole country, and all their subjects for ever to the Russian sceptre," during the reign of the Czar Iwan Bassiliowik.

For this, however, we must refer our readers to the volume itself, where the subject is followed up at great length. The intriguing and more adventurous spirit of the court of St. Petersburg has proved in every instance too powerful for the tardy and vacillating councils of the rival governments; and it has met with far more difficulty in reducing to a settled state, and a regular subjection, the roving and independent dispositions of the native tribes, over whom to the present hour it maintains a mere nominal supremacy, than in bringing the wild surface of their country, province after province, within the political boundary of the Russian empire.

On the banks of the Bibola, or Bywalla, as it is sometimes written, are said to be the ruins of what once constituted one of the chief cities of the Huns, a people that at one time shook Europe, Asia, and even Africa, with the terror of their name, and dazzled the world with the extent and splendour of their conquests; but whose fall was as rapid as their rise, and is covered with a veil of darkness that no inquiry has been able to penetrate. These ruins have been sought after with great attention by every Caucasian traveller; and the vestiges of Madshar, for such is the name of the city, have been placed by different persons, in as many different situations as the remains of old Troy. We do not know that M. Von Klaproth has been much more successful than his predecessors, especially than Gûldenstädt and Gmelin:

he writes, however, upon the subject with great self-complacency; and if his account be correct, the ruins of Madshar are to be sought for rather on the banks of the Kuma than on those of the Bialla; it never belonged to the Huns, and is of Tartar origin.

One of the most singular people inhabiting the vicinity of the Caucasus is the Circassian. These in the Greek, Latin, and Italian tongues, are denominated Zychi, in their own language Adiga, and by the Turks and Tartars Tscherkessians, or inhabitants of the Tscherkess country, whence, by an euphonous corruption, the name of Circassians. They consist of various tribes, one of the most distinguished of which is called Kabardahs: some of them live entirely on plunder, and are hardy, untameable mountaineers: others employ themselves in rude agricultural or pastoral pursuits; and others again settle in small towns or villages. They are probably among the oldest nations of the country, and formerly spread much farther northward than at present; their pasturage having extended beyond the Kuma, by themselves called Gum'ysh, though now, in consequence of the extension of the Russian territory, cooped up within narrower limits, and confined to the other side of the Terek, the Macha, and the Kuban.

We were pleased at meeting with traces of our own countrymen in this remote and desolate region; and at meeting with them, moreover, in the office of rendering to the country the best temporal and spiritual benefit it can receive.

"Our road now led in a south-west and afterwards in a north-west direction to the English missionary settlement, founded about five years since, at the foot of the highest of the Beshtau mountains, and named Ckarass, after an adjacent Abassian village, now burned down on account of the plague. Seventeen families originally resided here; but, owing to the unhealthiness of the climate, they are now reduced to eight; and these, two years since, were so unfortunate as to have several of their buildings burned by the neighbouring Nogays and Abasses. Their principal minister is Henry Brunton, a worthy old man, who formerly resided as a missionary in Africa among the nation of the Sui or Mandinga in Sierra Leone; and has published a grammar with a vocabulary, and likewise several religious books written in their language.

"These missionaries are supported by the Scottish Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, and His Imperial Majesty has graciously conferred on them extraordinary privileges, procured chiefly through the influence of the former secretary of state, Nikolai Nikolaewitsch Nowossilzow. The main objects of their establishment here are, the translation of the Bible into Tartar, and the conversion of the Caucasian nations, particularly the Tartars, to Christianity, according to the tenets of the church of England. As all these missionaries apply themselves with peculiar zeal to the study of the Tartar language, most of them

have already made very great proficiency in it, especially as they have native Tartars for their attendants, and are thus kept in constant practice. Their superior, Henry Brunton, has chiefly directed his attention to the language used in writing, and has ably translated the four Evangelists, besides several smaller religious books. All these works are printed; and, according to the account of several Tartars whom I questioned on the subject, they are extremely well written.

"The mission has a complete printing-office with a fine press, which, together with the paper for three thousand copies of the New Testament, was sent hither from London. The Arabic-Tartar types rival in beauty those of the first-rate establishments in Europe. There are two founts; the larger was cast upon the same matrices as were used for the Oxford letters with which *White's Institutes of Timur* and several other works have been printed in England. The smaller corresponds with the types employed in printing the Arabic New Testament and Psalms, which appeared in London between the years 1720 and 1730, and after which the Arabic letters at Göttingen were cast."

M. Von Klaproth mentions various pamphlets or small works, of a religious character, which were at this time published by the missionaries in the Tartar language; and that the gospels, in whole or in part, were in considerable progress through the press.

"As these missionaries enjoy the right of purchasing slaves, they already possess several Tscherkessians and Tartars, whom they have instructed in the precepts of Christianity and baptized, with the intention of restoring them, at some future time, to liberty. Excellent as the object and plan of this institution may be, it seems very doubtful whether it will ever accomplish the aim of the founders, since it is extremely difficult to persuade Asiatics to embrace a religion unaccompanied by external ceremonies, and the moral part of all religions is almost invariably alike. The missionaries have moreover excited the animosity of the neighbouring Nogay Tartars, by the conversion of a person belonging to one of the principal families of that nation; and it is to be feared that on the very first opportunity they will fall a prey to their rapacious neighbours, against whom the six Cossacks stationed in the English colony would be an inadequate defence. Their houses are small and very ill built; but they have commenced the erection of a more spacious edifice, where they mean to reside together, and where, according to the plan, they will have abundance of room.

"Since my return from the Caucasus I have been informed that many Herrnhuters from Ssarepta have removed to Ckarass and made common cause with the English missionaries, by which the colony has been considerably increased. Thus the whole institution is likely in time to lose its peculiar character, and the genuine Christian enthusiasm of its founders to degenerate into hypocrisy and avarice, which are well known to be the motives of all the actions of the Herrnhuters in their Russian settlements, and the mission will soon be transformed into a mere linen manufactory, which to be sure would be a profitable concern, for linen and shirts are current coin throughout all the Caucasus."

The author thus acknowledges himself to have found his predictions respecting the missionaries disproved by fact; and the translator has, with becoming liberality, collected sufficient proofs, which he has introduced partly into a note at the foot of the page, and more largely into an article in the Appendix, that his opinion of the simple and honest-hearted, and eminently pious and philanthropic Herrnhuters or United Brethren, is equally erroneous, and derived from calumnies which he might easily have corrected, and ought not to have disseminated.

“The Tscherkessian nation is properly divided into five classes. To the first belong the princes, called in Tscherkessian *Pschech* or *Pschi*, and in Tartar *Bek* or *By*, who were formerly styled in the Russian annals *Wladelzy*, or rulers, but are now intitled *Kinjäs* or princes. The second consists of the *Work*, or ancient nobles, whom the Tartars and Russians call *Usden*. The third comprehends the freedmen of the princes and usden, who by their manumission have themselves become usden, but in regard to military service are still under the authority of their former masters. To the fourth belong the freedmen of these new nobles; and to the fifth the vassals, *Tschoko'kohtl*, denominated by the Russians *Chalopy*. These last are subdivided into such as are engaged in agriculture, and those who are employed as menial servants by the superior classes.

“The number of the princes was formerly much more considerable than it is at present, because the last plague has made great havoc among this nation. To each branch of the princely houses belong several families of the usden, who consider the boors inherited by them from their forefathers as their property, because the transfer of them from one usden to another is prohibited. The prince is therefore the feudal lord of his nobles, and these again are masters over the vassals; but it often happens that noble families pass from one prince to another, and it is chiefly in this manner that the Great Kabardah has attained its present consequence. The boors have no specific taxes to pay to the usden; but though they are obliged to furnish the latter with all that they want, this applies only to the most necessary articles: for if the usden oppresses his vassal too much he runs the risk of losing him entirely. The princes and the nobles are upon nearly the same footing: what the former require for their use they demand from the latter, but not more than is absolutely necessary. If we would assign a name to this form of government, we might call it an aristocratic republic; though there is, strictly speaking, no government at all, for each individual acts as he pleases. The authority of the Tscherkessian princes formerly extended over the Ossetes, the Tschetschenzes, the Albasses, and the Tartar tribes in the high mountains at the sources of the Tschegem, the Baksan, the Malka, and the Ckuban; and though they have lost their ancient power by the successive occupations of the Russians, they still consider themselves as the masters of those nations.”

According to Interiano, an earlier Italian writer, they profess

the Christian religion, and have Greek priests. The following is, perhaps, a more correct view of this subject :

" So lately as forty years since the Tscherkessians lived almost without religion, though they called themselves Mosslemin, according to their pronunciation *Bussurman*. They were not circumcised, and had neither messdsheds nor priests, with the exception of a few simple mullas, who came to them from Axai and Endery. They proved themselves Mohammedans by little else than by their abstinence from swine's flesh and wine. They buried their dead indeed after the Mohammedan fashion, and their marriages were performed in the same manner. Polygamy, though allowed, was rare ; and the princes and chief usdens, at stated times of the day, repeated their Arabic prayers, of which they understood not one word. The common people, on the other hand, lived without any religious observances, and all days were alike to them. Of Greek Christianity, which was propagated in the Kabardah in the time of the Zar Iwan Wassiliewitsch, no traces are left, at least among the people, though ruins of ancient churches and grave-stones with crosses yet exist in the country.

" Ever since the peace of Kütschük Kanardshi in 1774, the Porte has endeavoured to spread the religion of Mohammed, by means of ecclesiastical emissaries, in the Caucasus, and especially among the Tscherkessians; and in regard to the latter at least it has attained its aim; to the accomplishment of which the celebrated Isaak Effendi, who was in the pay of the Turks, principally contributed. Their mullas or priests are in general freedmen of the princes or usden, who go to the Tartars of Thabasseran or to Endery, where they learn to read and write a little, assume the title of Effendi, and return to their native country to instruct the people in the Mohammedan faith, and to detach them more and more from the connexion with Russia. The Kabardians indeed have for these sixty years acknowledged themselves vassals of that empire; but they are so merely in name, as they neither pay any taxes nor are accountable for their conduct in their own country. On the contrary, they make every year frequent incursions into the Russian territory, whence they carry off men and cattle. They were formerly under the jurisdiction of the commandant of Kislar, but now under that of the Kabardinski Pristaw, or Inspector of the Kabardians, an office held at the time of my visit to the Caucasus by Major-general Del Pozzo. It would not be so very difficult a task to keep this nation in order, but the Russian officers commanding on the frontiers seem to care very little about the matter. Upon the whole, a wrong system is now pursued in regard to the mountaineers, namely, that of clemency and humanity, with which the Russian government will assuredly not be able to accomplish its object, since it is considered by them as a sign of weakness and fear. When Paul Sergeitsch Potemkin commanded on the Line, he tried to keep the Kabardian princes within bounds by conferring on them distinctions of rank and presents, and prevailed upon the court of St. Petersburg to place them, their nobles and vassals, upon the same footing as the Russian princes, nobles and boors; which was equally impolitic and useless; for how is it possible

to confer on a nation which has for ages lived by plunder, equal rights with those whom it is incessantly plundering? The Tscherkessians, after the manner of the Asiatics, interpreted this equalization as an acknowledgment of their extraordinary superiority; for they imagine that they far surpass the Russians in valour and intelligence. In the time of Lieutenant-general Von Gudowitsch, the pensions granted by the crown of Russia to the Tscherkessian princes were augmented; but yet nothing was gained by it, for they still continue their depredations. At present such is the insecurity on the Line, that you can scarcely venture towards evening a few wersts from Georgiewsk, without running the risk of being attacked. If on such an occasion you apprehend a robber, he is imprisoned for a few days, and the matter is compromised through the mediation of some wealthy Nogay or Kabardian Prince, resident in the Russian territory. The culprit is then quietly set at liberty, with the injunction never to show his face again on the Line.

It is difficult, however, in no ordinary degree, to determine upon any plan of subjugation; for severity has been tried and carried to its most cruel extreme with as little success. In the times of Count Markow and Prince Ziziañow, when caught in the act of plunder, they were accustomed to be tied, without respect of person, to a cannon, and punished with the most rigid corporeal chastisement. But this method has answered as little as that of indulgence.

“ The life of liberty they lead has such charms for them, that they would not exchange it for any other, but cheerfully make any sacrifices to return to it again, as the following instances evince. Colonel Atashuka Chammursin, who served as a volunteer with the Russians in the last war against the Turks, having fallen under suspicion for various reasons, and been sent to Jekaterinoslaw, afterwards returned home, renounced the Russian manners, and resumed in every respect the habits of his countrymen, who deem the military service ignominious, but consider their independent roving life as the highest earthly happiness.—Colonel Ismael Atashuka, who has served in the army, is a Knight of the Order of St. George, and was likewise sent to Jekaterinoslaw, who resided several years at St. Petersburg, who can speak Russian and French, who enjoys a pension of 3000 rubles, and has been loaded with favours by Russia, lives, to be sure, at Georgiewsk, but keeps his wife at a village in the Kabardah, intrusts his son to the care of an usden there, instead of sending him to Russia, where he would certainly receive a much better education, and maintains a secret intelligence with all the leading freebooters among his countrymen.—Lastly, Temir Bulat Atashuka was sent in his earliest youth to St. Petersburg, and educated there in the corps of Mountain-cadets, served in a regiment of dragoons till he attained the rank of captain, and returned to his country without knowing a word of his native language. He has nevertheless forgotten all his acquired habits, lives with the Tscherkessians as a Tscherkess, and

never could be prevailed upon to send his two sons to be educated in Russia.

"The Kabardian has a haughty and martial air, commonly possesses great physical strength, is tall in stature, and has expressive features. He is a most scrupulous observer of the laws of hospitality; and when he has taken any person under his protection, or received him as his guest, the latter may repose implicit confidence in him, and trust his life in his hands: never will he betray or deliver him up to his enemies. Should these prepare to carry him off by force, the wife of the host gives the guest some milk from her own breast to drink, after which he is regarded as her legitimate son, and his new brethren are bound to defend him against his enemies at the peril of their lives, and to revenge his blood. This revenge of blood, in every respect similar to the practice of the Arabs, is called by the Tscherkessians *Ili luassa*, or Price of Blood, and by the Tartars *Kangleh*, from *Kan*, blood. It is universal throughout the Caucasus, and is the usual occasion of the feuds of the inhabitants. Their implacable enmity to the Russians partly originates in the same cause; for the revenge of blood is transmitted, from father to son, and involves the whole family of him who roused it into action by the first murder.

"As no nation carries the pride of birth to such a height as the Tscherkessians, so there are no instances of unequal marriages among them. The prince invariably takes to wife the daughter of a prince; and his illegitimate children can never obtain their father's title and prerogatives, unless they marry a legitimate princess, by which they become princess of the third class. As the Abasses were formerly subject to the Tscherkessians, their princes are considered equal to Kabardian usdens only, and can obtain in marriage females of no higher rank than the daughters of such usdens; while the latter, on the other hand, marry the daughters of Abassian princes."

The tradition respecting the Amazons, as related by Herodotus, is asserted by the Russian writers to have been verified in this country; and our author endeavours, and with great plausibility, to show that the Kabardah must have been the country of the Amazons and their husbands, separated by the Terek, which he identifies with the ancient Marmadalis from the Lesgian tribes, the *Λῆγαι* of former times.

On crossing the Terek and entering the boundaries of Georgia, we find still the same mountainous country, and in various instances the same romantic and predatory mode of life. For the most part, however, the different tribes are more disposed for municipal society, and we meet with more proofs of the former expansion of the eastern empire, and of the influence of the Greek church.

The following is a slight geognostic sketch of the Caucasus; and we copy it the more eagerly, because it is but rarely, far too

rarely, that M. von Klaproth indulges in descriptions of this kind, or indeed of any part of natural science. The omission may, perhaps, be supplied in the ensuing volume; but every thing of the sort offered in the volume before us is cursory, and for the most part unsatisfactory and superficial.

“ The sloping plains formed by the Caucasian mountains, even from their greatest elevations, from north to south, are not of equal length with those extending in a contrary direction toward the north. The southern slope is much longer than the northern, that is, from the highest chain to the branch of the limestone range. The length of the northern slope is about 25 wersts, that of the southern near 50, reckoning from Gelaethi to Ananuri. The southern side of the mountains is of course less steep, and the descent more gradual; so that very few pointed or pyramidal peaks are to be seen there. For the same reason also it is not so bare, but almost every where clothed with trees and herbage. The three principal strata succeed one another on the south in the same order as on the north side. Next to the middle and highest range of sienite and basalt, comes, as you proceed southward, the slate, which here occupies a space of 12 wersts from north to south, and is consequently four wersts broader than the northern range of slate. The slate is followed by the limestone, whose base is 35 wersts in breadth, and consequently exceeds the northern mass of limestone by 20 wersts. Next to the slate this limestone is iron gray, very fine to the touch, sonoric, and splits into thick blocks. In the branch which runs off by Ananuri it is intermixed with sand. The strata of stone cease with this limestone; but the mountains, instead of settling into a level plain as on the north side, are continued to the south in hills sometimes of greater, sometimes of less elevation, which upon the whole become gradually lower towards the south, and extend to the Kur, which separates them from the northernmost range of the Ararat. In this southern part of the mountains you frequently meet with calcareous spars, partly compact and rhomboidal, partly porous: likewise milk-quartz, especially on the Terek from Gergethi to Kobi: also near Guda at the source of the Aragwi; whence we may infer, that mineral ores are more common here than in the northern mountains. My attendants hurried on at such a rate, that I had not time to seek the veins to which the spars and quartzes, carried along by the torrents, originally belonged. In the environs of Gergethi and Stephan-Tzminda I frequently saw reddish and yellow glimmer (cat-gold) in different species of stone, which has often been mistaken for genuine gold by ignorant Georgians and Russians, till they were convinced by experience that all is not gold that glitters.

“ Two hours' journey above Ananuri, a stream called the Mencsau, descending from an eminence about 120 feet high, falls into the west side of the Aragwi. Its current deposits in considerable quantity a wavy tuff-stone, which also incrusts the branches of the hazel-trees that hang down into the water. For the rest, I have not detected any carbonic acid gas among its contents.”

The present capital of Georgia is Tifflis, seated on the river Kur, or, as the Georgians call it, Mtk'wari. Mingrelia and Imeritia were formerly subject to Georgia; and all have occasionally been subject to the Persian or the Turkish government. The whole are now transferred equally to the great circle of the Russian empire: and the most recent of our maps and geographical systems must be altered to admit of the new arrangement.

We shall return to the work as soon as the second volume appears. Upon the whole, the translator has executed his task with judgment; but we caution him against the affectation of writing Moskwa for Moscow: Churan for Koran; Chuli Chan for Kouli Khan, and other such pruriencies of petty reformation.

ART. XXI.—*The Character of Moses established for Veracity as an Historian, recording Events subsequent to the Deluge.* By the Rev. Joseph Townsend, M. A. Rector of Pewsey, Wilts. Bath. 1815. Quarto, pp. 436. Longman and Co.

Mithridates oder allgemeine Sprachenkunde. Mithridates; or a General History of Languages, with the Lord's Prayer as a Specimen, in nearly five hundred Languages and Dialects. By Johann Christoph Adelung, Aulic Counsellor and Librarian at Dresden. Berlin. Vol. I. 1806. Vol. II. 1809. Vol. III. 1812. Part II. 1813. Vol. II. and III. continued by Professor Vater from the Papers of the Author. 8vo. pp. 2202.

WE derived so much gratification from the perusal of Mr. Townsend's former work, that we opened the volume before us with no small expectation both of amusement and profit. The title announces a far wider and more interesting field of inquiry than that which lately engaged our attention. Of that remote era of the world which preceded the Deluge, the inspired Historian of Israel has only set before our view a few unfinished traces, containing perhaps all that was presented to his unerring judgment as recorded in authentic characters; but in the subsequent period, and particularly after the emigration of the Hebrews from Chaldea, his narrative assumes that circumstantial and connected form which properly constitutes history. Many excellent commentators have contributed to illustrate this record, but there are still many points which seem to admit of further elucidation, and it is needless to insist on the importance of the subject. How much the older writers have left to

be achieved by the zeal and diligence of the moderns may be judged from the work of Michaelis lately translated into our language. We looked to Mr. Townsend for important lights to guide us through that portion of history to which his superscription directs us; but in this hope we are in a great measure disappointed. The present work, with the exception of a few pages, is wholly devoted to a philological treatise, in which the author engages in the arduous attempt of tracing all the languages in the world to one original. How far he attains this object, and how far it is possible to attain it, we shall endeavour in the sequel to estimate. At present we shall only remark, that whether the attempt succeeds or fails, the event, in our judgment, no wise endangers the credit of the Mosaic history.

The Mithridates of Mr. Adelung treats professedly of the history of languages, and is the most extensive and profound work on that subject that has ever yet issued from the European press. It was ushered into the world under very favourable auspices. During the last fifty years a great store of materials for such an undertaking had been accumulating from all parts of the world. Since the voyages of Cook and his enlightened companions, every navigator in distant regions has considered it a part of his duty to collect specimens of the dialects of savages. The ancient sacerdotal idioms of Persia, Hindustan, and Siam, which were either wholly unknown to Europeans, or enveloped in a cloud of mystery, have been thoroughly investigated. The languages of the African and American hordes have been studied by recent travellers. Yet though our knowledge had increased so much in particulars, scarcely any attempt had been made to compare the data which were collected, and to obtain any general results since the publication of the "*Oratio Dominica in omnium fere gentium linguis versa*," by our countryman Chambérlayne; for the great collection of vocabularies which issued from the Russian press under the auspices of the Empress Catharine must be regarded rather as a storehouse of materials. The author of the present treatise had already obtained celebrity as a lexicographer, with the reputation of extensive learning, and he brought to this undertaking all the qualifications which were necessary to ensure success. It is much to be regretted that he died before the completion of his work, but it is at the same time fortunate for the world that his manuscripts fell into the hands of so enlightened a successor as Professor Vater. That much remains in this department for future writers to perform, will not be questioned; but what Mr. Adelung has accomplished claims for him, in our opinion, the gratitude of the public. We shall endeavour to enable our readers to form their own estimate of his merits.

Our author commences his history of languages with a philosophical inquiry into the origin of human speech. Although such a disquisition does not appear strictly necessary as a prelude to a philological work, yet as he has founded upon it his arrangement of languages, and has connected it with his historical theories, we are bound to take cognisance of some of his opinions on this subject.

"The idea," he tells us, "must be given up that language was communicated to the first men by their Creator, or that they were taught the use of articulate words by angels or superior intelligences." There was a time, according to him, when the human race claimed but little privilege over the brutes; when they crept upon the earth a "*mutum et turpe pecus*." "This is a proposition which on a little reflection offers itself to the mind as a first principle, and requires no proof." We confess that to us it does not appear so fully self-evident; but as this is not a fit opportunity to controvert it we shall suffer our author to proceed in his philosophical speculation. "It is true," he adds, "that when we consider the artificial and complicated structure of an European language, which is capable of expressing all the shades of thought and sentiment that arise in civilized society, and of representing all the metaphysical reasonings of a Plato or a Voltaire, the production of so wonderful a contrivance seems beyond the reach of the human faculties." "An European war-ship, which with a burden of twenty-five hundred tons, and bearing a thousand men and a hundred cannons, rides triumphantly through the ocean and defies the rage of conflicting elements, would appear to the wondering eyes of a naked Huron, or to the miserable savage of Oonalashka as a phenomenon altogether supernatural, and it would be impossible for him to conceive that such a work was produced by the hands of his fellow creatures. But if he were enabled to trace the art of the modern ship-builder backwards through all its stages to the fragile raft or the hollow trunk on which the first trembling barbarian committed himself to the unstable element, his astonishment would gradually subside, and the supernatural being created by his imagination would gradually dwindle into a simple man." The case is similar, according to our author, when we inquire into the history and progress of language. "It only requires a little observation to discover the stages of its advancement, and to trace it backwards to the first articulate sounds uttered by the uncouth child of nature."—"Even when we examine attentively the whole fabric in its complete form, we discover clear vestiges of its homely beginning. The language which flows from the mouth of a Cicero or a Newton still bears traces of those infant ages of the world, when men referred all the movements of external nature to the same voluntary

powers of which they were conscious within themselves; when they fancied that *the Wind blows*, that *the Sun goes down*, and that *the Ocean roars*, and when with similar ignorance they feigned mountains and rivers to be males: d females."

The first words which a savage would utter would naturally be mere vocal sounds pronounced with the open mouth without articulation. Accordingly words of this character abound in the vocabularies of many barbarous nations, as the South-Sea islanders, the Hurons, the Algonquins, Galibis, and Esquimaux. Some well known languages preserve many of these first attempts to form words. The Greek expresses the most simple ideas by mere vocal sounds, such as *άω*, *έω*, *έει*, *έζω*, *άω*, *ήω*, *όω*, *άει*, *άα*. The addition of consonants was a considerable step in advance, and that it was a matter of some difficulty, we may learn by observing how many languages are still very defective in this respect. La Fontan found it impossible to teach a Huron to articulate the labials, b, p, and m. Scarcely are there two dialects which agree in the number of consonants. The Otaheiteans imitated the name of Cook by the word *Tutu*, and the Chinese in the place of Christus, were obliged to substitute Ki-li-tu-si.

Next to mere vocal sounds, the most simple class of words are those in which a single vowel follows a consonant, as *ba*, *lo*, *ma*, &c. These are the words which a child first pronounces. The dialects of the southern islanders are replete with such sounds, and the whole Chinese vocabulary contains scarcely any other words. On this account Mr. Adelung considers this as the nearest representative of the primitive language of mankind. Our author is not the first who has supposed the monosyllabic structure to be a proof of high antiquity. The learned Dr. Shuckford adopted the same notion, and consequently made an attempt to resolve the trilateral roots of the Hebrew into monosyllables.

The first application of names to objects, or the invention of significant words, has often been supposed to have taken its rise from the imitation of the voices of animals, or the sounds produced by various natural causes. The serpent *hisses*, the bees *hum*, the thunder *peals*, the tempest *roars*, the wind *howls* among the mountains. The savage listens and imitates the sound which salutes his ears, and the word which he pronounces serves afterwards to recall to himself and his companions the idea of the object which first gave occasion to its utterance. In fact all such phenomena as are accompanied by an audible sound are distinguished in most languages by tones which are clearly imitative, and the names of animals which utter loud and distinct cries are of the same nature. Having once by these simple efforts formed the habit of communicating and receiving ideas, it is easy to conceive that a further progress could be made by associating analo-

gous perceptions and objects. A stone falling to a great depth was frequently observed to occasion a peculiar sound. The imitation of this sound afforded a word to signify *deep*: the same word was afterwards extended to the opposite but connected sense of *height*, and it came at length to designate *haughtiness*, magnanimity, *loftiness* of mind, and whatever excites the sentiment of the *sublime*, either in animated or inanimate nature. How far these analogies may be carried, and how remote the derived sense of a word may become from the idea which first occasioned its invention, may be conceived by observing the terms which in several languages designate the soul or intellectual spirit, and which took their rise from words first applied to the act of breathing, or formed in imitation of the sound which a breeze produces in the foliage of a wood.

As these analogies are for the most part arbitrary, and depend on peculiar habits of feeling and thinking, it may thus be imagined that every little society of men would form a language in a great measure peculiar, and that the diversities would chiefly consist in words which have a figurative sense, and therefore owe their origin to real or fancied resemblances. We find in reality that the terms furnished by natural objects and by those analogies which are so accessible as to be universally perceived, are often similar in idioms which differ in their more abstract words. The structure of a language will thus bear the character of the nation by whom it was formed. Among the Oriental people the fancy takes a bolder flight, and discovers or invents analogies which escape the feeble perceptions and colder genius of the North.

But if we suppose a sufficient number of words to be thus formed, we are still far from possessing a complete language. "We have now indeed formed a canoe out of the unshapen trunk, but a rudder and sails are wanting, and we can only grope with labour and difficulty along the coast." The distinction of nouns and verbs, and the addition of numbers, declensions, and conjugations are necessary before our dialect can assume a sufficiently perfect state for expressing our thoughts with precision and facility. These advantages have been obtained by different nations in degrees, and by methods very various. The Chinese and other languages of similar character are absolutely destitute of inflections. Simple monosyllables are incapable of variation; they are a sort of monads or primitive particles; all the connections and shades of ideas are performed by them in the rudest manner; variation of tone sustains an important part, and even gesticulation is used to render language more expressive. The composition of words is precluded by the mechanism of these dialects which admits of no aggregates, and its place is rudely supplied by mere juxtaposition. In other languages our author supposes com-

position to be the source of all the modifications of words, and attributes declension, conjugation, &c. to this sole principle; but he has not resolved the problem, how some languages originally monosyllabic, for such he supposes all to have been, have in the sequel entirely changed their character, and have become capable of combinations.

This account of the invention of speech, though it contains little that is altogether new, appears to us on the whole well imagined and ingeniously illustrated. With respect to its truth, which is the most important question, we are disposed to take a middle course. That the language spoken by the first created of mankind originated in the mode marked out by Mr. Adelung, we are very little disposed to maintain; but we think it evident that the dialects of barbarous tribes were generally formed, and are continually renewed on a similar principle; and this idea by no means precludes the descent of all mankind from a common origin. New additions are every day made to the fluctuating jargons of savages, and those parts of their idioms which cease to be in conformity with their habits, speedily fall into disuse and are lost. The language of the Mantshures and Tungusians contains such a multitude of words which have no mutual relations, but are evidently formed by imitation and onomatopœia, that in merely casting our eyes over the vocabulary we easily trace the origin of the greater part of it. A similar opinion may be formed of the monosyllabic dialects of Eastern Asia; but with respect to the polysyllabic languages, which are the most important in literature and in the history of the world, we are obliged to come to a different conclusion. In the German and Celtic there are very few of these natural words when compared with the idioms above mentioned; and though the whole collective number be somewhat considerable, it bears but a small proportion to those parts of the language which have a totally different aspect. In the Persian, words of the same origin are to be found, which may be accounted for by the intermixture of northern nations with the people of Iran. But in the Greek, and still more in the Latin, they diminish to a very small number, and in the Sanscrit, which of all the above mentioned, and perhaps of all existing languages, has the highest pretensions to antiquity, scarcely any vestige of such a beginning can be discovered.

With respect also to the connections and modifications of words, it appears to us that Mr. Adelung has generalized too much in referring them universally to combination. The method of expressing the relations of ideas seems to depend on totally distinct principles in different languages. We have mentioned that the monosyllabic dialects are the most imperfect in this respect. In another class of languages words are capable of coalescing,

and thus supply, by combination, the place of a proper inflection. The modern dialects of Europe are modified, more or less, in this manner, and the declensions and conjugations of the Hebrew are contrived on a similar principle; but the Slavonian, the Greek, and Latin, and still more the Sanscrit, have a far more refined and artificial structure; the shades of ideas and the relations of words to each other are expressed in all these idioms by variations in the roots, either by prefixing augments, or by altering the middle vowels according to certain rules, or by modifying the terminations. On this subject we shall add some further remarks in their appropriate place. We only remark at present, that whether we consider the *materia prima* of which these languages are composed, or the complicated system on which they are constructed, we can scarcely imagine them to have taken their rise from the rude exclamations of barbarous hunters.

Having explained very much to his own satisfaction the origin of language, our author endeavours to discover what part of the earth is the native seat of the human race, and he contrives to establish a coincidence between his conclusions on this subject, and the results we have already noticed. The structure of the earth points clearly to a period when our continents, and even the highest mountains, were covered by the ocean, and Moses has given us the same testimony in his account of the creation. When the waters subsided and the dry land appeared, the most elevated mountain plains first afforded a habitable dwelling to terrestrial animals and to the human species. Hence, as the slowly diminishing ocean gave up progressively the lower regions to be the abode of life, they descended and spread themselves over their new acquisitions. The central plain of Asia, between the 90th and 110th degree of East longitude, and the 30th and 50th of North latitude, was the tract which first emerged from the deep. The desert of Kobi, which is the summit of this mountainous region, is the most elevated ridge in the globe. From its vicinity the great rivers of Asia take their rise, and flow down towards the four cardinal points. The Selinga, the Ob, the Irtysh, the Lena, and the Jenisey, carry their waters to the Frozen Ocean; the Jaik, the Oxus, flow towards the setting sun; the Amur and the Hoangho, or the Yellow River, towards the East; the Indus, the Ganges, and the Burampooter, terminate in the Southern Sea. On the declivities of these highlands are the plains of Tibet, lower than the frozen region of Kobi, where many fertile tracts are well fitted to become the early seat of animated nature. In the valleys of Kashmire to the southward the verdure of perpetual spring reigns, and the rich stores of esculent vegetables which there abound mark this region as well adapted to become the abode of the first men, fresh from the hand of Nature,

and destitute as yet of the arts of life. "Here are found not only the vine, the olive, rice, the legumina, and other plants on which man has in all ages depended in a great measure, for his sustenance; but all those animals run wild upon these mountains, which he has tamed and led with him over the whole earth, as the ox, the horse, the ass, the sheep, the goat, the camel, the hog, the dog, the cat, and even the gentle rein-deer, his constant friend, who accompanies and consoles him even in the icy polar tracts. In Kashmere, plants, animals, and men, exist in their greatest physical perfection." Mr. Adelung accordingly places here the seat of Eden, the primitive abode of man; and he is so delighted with this conceit, that he indulges himself in a long digression on the imaginary beauties of his Indian paradise, which seems to be somewhat whimsically introduced into an Essay on Languages.

It must be confessed, that there is something very specious in this conjecture. Without adverting to the fact, that the high sæppe of central Asia is the most elevated tract as yet known, and consequently must have been abandoned by the ocean at a much earlier period than most other parts of the earth; it is a very curious circumstance that the cereal gramina, and other esculent plants, which in all ages have furnished the chief food of the human species, have here their native seat, and that nearly all our races of domestic animals run wild in the same region. This consideration induced the Swiss Müller, the most learned and philosophical of modern historians, to place the original seat of mankind in Tibet.

A number of historical arguments also suggest themselves in favour of this opinion. The traditions of the ancient world refer all nations to an Eastern origin, and we shall hereafter see reason to attach some credit to them in this particular. We shall find proof that most of the nations of Northern Europe are nearly allied in kindred to the Eastern Asiatics. Africa, as well as the opposite shores of the Mediterranean, is well known to have been early occupied by colonies from Asia. The fictions of the Greek and Italian mythology are full of oriental imagery, and contain other proofs of Asiatic origin. Dr. Shuckford, from considering the passages in Genesis, which relate to the events immediately subsequent to the deluge, was convinced that they refer to a high mountainous region, far to the Eastward of Mesopotamia, towards which the colony which laid the foundations of Babel is said to have journeyed from East to West. Such is the situation of Tibet. It is worthy of notice, that the ancient books of the Hindoos, which describe the primitive condition of man in a manner very similar to that of Moses, fix the cradle of our race in the same quarter. "The Hindoo Paradise lies on Mount

Meru, which is on the confines of Kashmire and Tibet. Out of it they describe four rivers as flowing towards the four quarters of the earth. In this Paradise are mentioned not only the tree of life and death (the Chiampa, well known in India, which is said to bear both a wholesome and a deleterious fruit), but also the tree of immortality, and the serpent which poisons the water, the source of life." It is impossible to mistake the connection of these representations with those of Genesis.

Those who have investigated most diligently the traces of arts and knowledge in early times, have arrived by a very different track at the same point. They discover the existence of a nation which, prior to the age of all history, occupied the higher region of Asia, and there cultivated the sciences. To them are attributed the invention of astronomy, the arrangement and naming of the constellations, and of the oldest Zodiac in the world, consisting of the 24 lunar mansions, and the discovery of the planets. Some great catastrophe of nature, according to Bailley, overturned this primitive empire, and scattered the remnants of its people over distant regions, whither they carried with them fragments of their sciences, and the memory of the great event which dispersed them. That event Bailly supposes to be the same which is described in our Scriptures as the deluge of Noah.

Mr. Adelung eagerly adopts the hypothesis of this primeval empire, and is ready to fix upon the same locality for his Eden and Ararat; but luckily recollects, in good time, that the ground is already appropriated. Dante has chosen this very spot for the situation of his Hell. It would ill accord with the methodical proceeding of a German Aulic Counsellor to dispute the right of prior occupancy, and to attempt to dislodge the poet from his quarters. Our author quietly takes up a more southerly position. In the vicinity of this region, which so many physical and historical probabilities point out as the cradle of mankind, and of the arts and sciences, we find many nations, comprising some hundred millions of men, whose manners still preserve the simple character of ancient times, and whose languages, entirely monosyllabic, and constructed in the rudest manner, seem to refer us to the earliest ages of human society. Such are the Tibetans or Tanguts, the Chinese, the natives of Ava, Pegu, Siam, and the whole of India beyond the Ganges. To the northward of these wander the celebrated hordes of the Mongoles, Mandshurs, and Tartars, distinct from each other, but all holding an intermediate place in their character and languages between the above mentioned races and the rest of mankind.

Much ingenuity is certainly displayed in this method of reducing the history of mankind to one simple beginning. As there is nothing in the hypothesis that seems to be at variance

with the Scriptural records, or with the tenour of ancient history, we shall not start any objections to it at present, though we think there are some which might be urged with considerable force; and that other parts of the earth, particularly the submerged Atlantic Isle might offer claims scarcely less specious to be considered as the seat of the antediluvian world. But it is time to proceed to the proper subject of the work before us.

Our author's geographical arrangement of languages is ill adapted to the purpose of a connected essay. We shall, therefore, present our readers with a Table, in which they are distributed according to their affinities, taking care to avoid the pedantry of applying a technical classification to what admits of endless subdivisions.

MONOSYLLABIC LANGUAGES.

- | | |
|----------------------------|-----------------------------|
| 1. Chinese Languages. | 5. T'hay or Siamese. |
| 2. Tangut or Tibetan. | T'hay-j'hay or old Siamese. |
| 3. Barma or Birman. | Lao or Laos. |
| Rukheng or Dialect of Ara- | 6. Khômen or Cambojan. |
| kan. | 7. Anan or Cochin-Chinese. |
| 4. Môn or Peguan. | 8. Corean languages ? |

POLYSYLLABIC LANGUAGES.

9. Ancient Indian or Sacerdotal.

BRANCHES.

- | | |
|--------------|--------------|
| A. Sanscrit. | E. Celtic. |
| B. Bali. | F. German. |
| C. Zend. | G. Slavonic. |
| D. Pelasgic. | |

DIALECTS.

A. OF THE SANSKRIT.

1st. *Pracrits or ancient Dialects.*

- | | |
|--|-------------------------------|
| a. Saraswati bâla bâni or
poetical Pracrit. | f. Tamul or Malabar language. |
| b. Hindî. | g. Mahârâshtra or Mahratta. |
| c. Gaura or Bengali. | h. Karnata or Canarese. |
| d. Mait-hila or Tirhut. | i. Tailanga or Telinga. |
| e. Odradesa or Orissan. | k. Gurjara or Guzeratti. |

2d. *Bhashas or vulgar Dialects.*

Dialect of Multan. Gipse Language, &c. &c.

B. BALI.

The Bali is not properly the parent of any living dialect, but has contributed to modify many of the monosyllabic languages and the polysyllabic idioms of Japan and Ceylon.

C. ZEND.

- | | |
|------------------------------------|-------------|
| a. Pahlavi. | c. Kurdish. |
| b. Parsî, parent of modern Persic. | d. Afghan ? |

D. PELASGIC.

1. *Thracian Tribes.*

a. Phrygians.	k. Proper Thracians.
b. Bithynians.	l. Getæ or Daci.
c. Heneti and Paphlagonians.	m. Moesiæns.
d. Mysians and Trojans.	n. Macedonians.
e. Lydians.	o. Epirots.
f. Carians.	p. Abantes.
g. Lycians.	q. Illyrians?
h. Cimmerii.	r. Veneti.
i. Taurians.	s. Pannonians.

2. *Grecian Dialects.*

a. Pure Æolic.	b. Celto-Æolic or Latin
Doric.	Italian.
Ionic.	French.
Attic.	Spanish.
	Portuguese.
Hellenic.	Romanish.
	•
Romæic.	

E. CELTIC.

a. Cambro-British.	b. Erse.
Welsh.	Irish.
Armonican.	Gaelic.
Cornish.	Manx.
Old Helvetian.	

F. GERMANIC.

1st. Branch. *Dutch or proper German.*

A. SOUTH GERMAN OR GOTHIC.

ANCIENT DIALECTS.

Mæso-Gothic.	Herulic.
Vandalian.	Longobardic, &c.

MODERN DIALECTS.

Bavarian.	Dialects of Suabia, Alsace, Upper
Austrian.	and Middle Rhine.
Swiss and Tyrolese.	

B. MIDDLE GERMAN.

Thuringian.	Franconian, &c.
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C. LOW DUTCH.

Frieslandish.	Holland or Dutch.
Lower Saxon.	Belgian.

D. HIGH DUTCH.

Upper Saxony, since Luther's time, the polite language of Germany.

2d Branch. *Scandinavian.*

Danish.	Icelandic.
Norwegian.	Swedish.

3d Branch. *English.*

10. HEBRAIC.

A. ÆTHIOPIC.

- | | |
|-------------|------------------|
| 1. Geez. | 3. Old Egyptian? |
| 2. Amharic. | |

B. CANAANITISH.

- | | |
|-----------------|---------------|
| 1. Hebrew. | Rabbinical. |
| Hebræo-Chaldee. | 2. Phœnician. |
| Samaritan. | 3. Punic. |
| Galilæan. | |

C. ARABIC.

- | | |
|-------------------|--------------|
| 1. Old Arabic. | 4. Mapulian. |
| 2. Modern Arabic. | 5. Maltese. |
| 3. Moorish. | |

D. ARAMEAN OR SYRIAC.

E. ASSYRIAN OR PROPER CHALDAIC.

11. IBERIAN.

- | | |
|----------------------|----------------------------------|
| Cantabrig or Basque. | Ligurian and Sicilian ; extinct. |
|----------------------|----------------------------------|

LANGUAGES OF NORTHERN NATIONS.

- | | |
|-------------------------------------|----------------------------|
| 12. Tchudic. | 18. Language of Mordvines. |
| A. Finnish. | 19. — - Teptjerais. |
| Livonian. | 20. — - Samoides. |
| Esthonian. | 21. — - Jemsean Ostiaks. |
| B. Lapponic. | 22. — - Kamtshatkans. |
| C. Hungarian. | 23. — - Tschuktschi. |
| 13. Permian. | B. Koriaks. |
| 14. Vogulic. | C. Oonalashka. |
| 15. Language of Ostiaks on the Oby. | D. Esquimaux. |
| 16. ——— of Cherenisses. | E. Greenland. |
| 17. ——— Votiaks. | |

NATIONS OF CAUCASUS.

- | | |
|------------------------|----------------|
| 25. Abassians. | 28. Ingushi. |
| 26. Circassians. | 29. Lesgi. |
| B. Cossacs of the Don. | 30. Armenians. |
| 27. Ossetes. | 31. Georgians. |
| B. Alani. | |
| Albanians of Epirus? | |

ULTRA-CASPIAN NATIONS.

32. Tartar or Scythian.

A. TARTARIAN STEM.

- | | |
|---------------|-------------|
| 1. Nogays. | 3. Kasan. |
| 2. Comanians. | 4. Kirguis. |

B. TURKISH STEM.

- | | |
|----------------|-----------------|
| 1. Turkmans. | 4. Karahanians. |
| 2. Usbecks. | 5. Osman Turks. |
| 3. Bukharians. | |

C. MIXED WITH MONGOLES.

- | | |
|----------------|---------------|
| 1. Chulymes. | 3. Chuvashes. |
| 2. Krasmojars. | 4. Yakutes. |
-
- | | |
|---------------------|---------------------------------|
| 33. Mongolian. | 4. New Holland. |
| A. Mongole Proper. | 5. New Hebrides. |
| B. Kalmuc. | 6. Feejee, &c. |
| C. Burattes. | B. Tattowed Races. |
| 34. Mantchurian. | 1. Battas. |
| A. Mantchu Proper. | 2. Bugis. |
| B. Tungusian. | 3. Pintados. |
| 35. Sagalien. | 4. New Zeeiland. |
| 36. Kurilian. | 5. Friendly Isles. |
| 37. Japanese. | 6. Society Isles. |
| 38. Formosan. | 7. Sandwich Isles, &c. |
| 39. Ceylonese. | 8. Easter Isle. |
| 40. Polynesian. | C. Menangkabow Race. |
| A. Savage Races. | 1. Sumatran Malays. |
| 1. Andamaners. | 2. Malays Proper. |
| 2. Malacca Negroes. | 3. Coast of the Indian Islands, |
| 3. Papuas | Magindano, &c. |

The African and American Languages are too numerous and too little distinguished to be enumerated here.

MONOSYLLABIC LANGUAGES.

Tibet, the Chinese empire, and the whole of India, beyond the Ganges, contain a population much greater than that of all Europe. The languages of all these nations, with the exception a few tribes on the coast of the Malay Peninsula, are monosyllabic. The people themselves are distinguished from the rest of mankind by their physical traits, the most striking of which are a broad flattened countenance, with their cheek bones extending laterally, compressed features, and oblique orbits. These characters do not, however, prevail among them universally, or in the same degree. Some of the tribes of the Eastern peninsula scarcely differ from some casts of Hindus.

There are few problems in the history of mankind more curious than the uniform picture which these nations present, and the unvarying character which they have preserved through so many ages. The cause of this phenomenon must be sought partly in their insulated situation, in a remote corner of the world, where they are cut off from other nations by natural boundaries; and partly in the multitude of their population, which is so great as to swallow up in its mass the more warlike tribes who have occasionally penetrated their boundaries, and have exercised a temporary dominion over them.

A very remarkable fact with respect to these nations, is the almost endless variety of their oral languages. The same written character is used, throughout the Chinese empire, and the same writing is intelligible in all its provinces. Europeans, from this

circumstance, have imagined that there is one language proper to the whole nation ; but this is so far from being the case, that, as Mr. Barrow informs us, there are scarcely any two provinces in China which have the same oral language ; and Dr. Leyden, to whom we owe much valuable information on the literature of this family of men, declares that the same written words are read and understood by "at least twenty different nations, who would scarcely understand a word of one another's speech, and would all use different words to express the same meaning." The dialect which has obtained by distinction the title of Chinese, is the Kuan-hoa, the language of the Court and of the Mandarines, which was originally the proper speech of the province Kiang-nan, where the native Emperors of China formerly held their residence. Still greater is the diversity which prevails beyond the limits of the empire. It is only by comparing the internal structure of these dialects, and by considering the monosyllabic form and the uniform system of intonation which they all retain, that we derive an argument for the common origin of the nations who use them ; an opinion which is, however, amply confirmed by their very striking resemblance in physical peculiarities and moral traits.

The infinite variation of these languages, and their great mutability, is a fact scarcely reconcilable with the high antiquity which Mr. Adelung imputes to them. Rude unformed jargons, consisting of monosyllables unconnected by any rules of structure, are in their very nature so liable to perpetual fluctuation, that it seems absurd to consider them as relics of ancient times ; and when we add to this the fact that the written characters have no relation to the vocal dialect, and therefore give no aid towards fixing and preserving the speech, as they do among nations whose letters represent sounds, the languages of this groupe are reduced to the same ever-changing condition with the mere oral jargon of savages, which often differs totally in contiguous districts, as in New Holland, where two neighbouring tribes call even the sun and moon by names quite distinct from each other. Since the proofs of antiquity so entirely fail in this quarter, we are naturally invited to turn our eyes to the boasted literature of China for something in aid of the tottering hypothesis of our author. But here, as he himself confesses, we find only a glimmering and unsteady light. The famous history of China, translated by the Jesuit Joseph Anne Marie de Moyriac de Mailla, and published by the Abbé Grozier in twelve quarto volumes, sets out from an epoch sufficiently remote : but what sort of documents do we draw forth from this precious store ? "Stories of Emperors who find out arts and sciences by the dozen, who give command to their august consorts to invent manufactures, and who, in long-winded harangues, convince their mathematicians of the importance of dis-

covering astronomy." Even in that part of these annals, which is commonly considered as of unshaken authority, beginning with the year 207, B. C. our Author has fallen upon a most awkward stumbling-block. The great wall of China, perhaps the most stupendous monument of human labour that exists, is declared by the Chinese Annals to have been completed 240 years B. C.

So prodigious a work, which has attracted the chief wonder of Europeans since their first acquaintance with China, could scarcely have remained unknown to any nation who carried on intercourse with that country. Yet Ptolemy, who describes the march of caravans into the country of the Seres, never gives the smallest hint of its existence. The Arabian travellers, whose voyages Renaudot has published, were equally unacquainted with it; and, what is still more strange, Marco Polo, who served three years in the army of Kublai Khan, and travelled to the North of China in 1270, and who must actually have passed under the great wall, if it had existed in his time, has omitted entirely to mention it, though he is minutely accurate in noting down all that he saw worthy of observation. This fact, when taken together with the modern aspect of the structure, shows us what degree of reliance can be placed on the Chinese history, even in those parts which are reputed most authentic. It is probable, indeed, that fragments are preserved among the Chinese as among other nations from remote times; but they are neither so well ascertained, nor so definite in time and circumstances, as to give us any insight into the history of the people.

Yet we wonder to find Mr. Adelung so quietly giving up a resource which promised support to his hypothesis, and we cannot but look upon it as an extraordinary piece of magnanimity. But when he acquiesces in the conjecture of Sir W. Jones, to which for our own parts we have no particular objection, that the Chinese are the offspring of a tribe which is mentioned in the Institutes of Menu to have emigrated from India, he seems to throw to the ground the whole fabric which he has been labouring to erect; for the "*Chinas*" mentioned by Menu were a branch of the Hindu stock, had been subjected to the system of casts, and, of consequence, spoke the tongue of Hindustan. What then becomes of the Ogygian antiquity of China, and her primeval language?

We have no room to enter at length into our author's observations on the structure of these languages in particular. In general he seems to have made a good use of the resources of which he was possessed, and has given a very good digest of all the information which had been acquired on the subject of the Chinese language prior to the date of his work. Some progress had been made subsequently by our countrymen in the East, and we trust that what we have hitherto obtained is only the prelude to more important

contributions. With respect to the nations of the Eastern Peninsula from the Ganges to China, and their dialects and literature, more valuable information is contained in the late Dr. Leyden's work, in the 10th volume of the Asiatic Researches, than the whole amount of our previous knowledge.

POLYSYLLABIC LANGUAGES.

The chain of Mount Imaus separates the jargons of China and Tibet from a tribe of languages which has performed a much more important part as an instrument of human thought. If men had always been limited to the use of the rude uninflected dialects of north-eastern Asia, it would scarcely have been possible for them to have risen above the rank of barbarians.

The Sanscrit and its cognate dialects present the strongest contrast to the monosyllabic languages. We have observed, that the latter are incapable of inflection. The relations and modes of the chief words in a sentence are partly expressed by particles which are in themselves distinct roots, and are partly left to be understood: nouns express in themselves neither numbers, cases, nor genders; nor the verbs, moods, tenses, or persons. The Sanscrit, on the contrary, exhibits all these shades of ideas by inflections, which are in this more complicated and extensive than in any other language. A single word in Chinese is capable only of one application. In Sanscrit it gives origin to a numerous class of words, the whole of which the primitive idea pervades under an indefinite number of modifications. All the derivatives from one stock bear a certain stamp of affinity, and illustrate each other by their mutual relations. Hence this language and its sister dialects are exceedingly copious, and capable of expressing even the most general or abstract ideas with precision and at the same time with variety: they are applicable to all the purposes to which the human faculties can direct the use of words. Accordingly it is only among nations who use these dialects that the sciences have advanced, or that philosophy has flourished. Another consequence of this organized and systematic structure is the wonderful durability of this class of idioms, and the constancy with which they preserve their affinities and individual character, though scattered many thousands of years over distant parts of the earth. Their affinities are every where easily recognised, and the same families of words are traced back to similar origins: a sort of living principle seems to pervade them which preserves their organization in vigour, and propagates it to perpetuity. It is quite the reverse with the monosyllabic tongues; each word in them is an unconnected individual. When lost, its place is supplied by another without difficulty. Hence these languages are in their nature fluctuating, and subject to constant change.

Mr. Adelung has given a very confused and imperfect account

of the Sanscrit and its dialects; at which we cannot be surprised, as he was unacquainted with what Mr. Colebrooke and other learned members of the society at Calcutta have done of late years in opening the stores of Asiatic literature, and depended chiefly for information on the presumptuous and half-learned missionary Paullinus à S. Bartholomeo, whose crude misrepresentations have frequently been opposed by foreign writers to the authority of Sir W. Jones and Mr. Colebrooke. The invidious disposition towards the English which has been fostered of late among all ranks of people on the continent, has even extended itself to men of letters. We remember to have seen a review of English literature in a reputable periodical work published in France, in which *Joel Barlow* is mentioned as the only poet in our language, who has recently merited distinction! We find symptoms of a similar feeling even in the work of Mr. Adelung. He takes an opportunity of informing us that "India since the ruin of the Mogul power has fallen under the tyranny of *Mahrattas*, *Seiks*, and *Britons*; the former of whom have exercised their wonted atrocity: the latter have been more systematic but not less oppressive in their conduct." He takes every opportunity of lessening the reputation of our countrymen as oriental scholars, and of exalting, at their expense, the fame of any pitiful Romish monk, who can be forced into competition with them. There is as much folly as injustice in this attempt. The achievements of our learned men in the literature of India have been as preeminent as those of our arms upon her soil. But we hope that the time has passed by, when every pedant of the continent looked for patronage by insulting England, and when High Dutch philosophers were vain of receiving the "ton" from the frivolous Parisians.

As Mr. Adelung has been so unfortunate in the choice of his authorities, we shall pass by his account of the language of India, and shall present our readers with a brief sketch of what he ought to have done; availing ourselves of the documents which have been brought to light by our illustrious countrymen in the East.

In adverting to the opinions which have been entertained concerning the Sanscrit, it is scarcely necessary to mention the whimsical notion, that it owes its origin to the invasion of Alexander and the Macedonian colony settled in Bactria, which was proposed in order to account for the refined character of the language, and its affinity with the Greek. It would be just as reasonable to imagine that our Teutonic dialect was introduced into this country by a regiment of Hussars from Hesse Cassel, or by an ambassador from the Hague. But the copious inflections of the Sanscrit, and the exquisite refinement of its grammatical system seemed to afford somewhat better ground for the opinion, that it never was the popular speech of any nation; but was formed by the concerted efforts of the Brahmins, who, by polishing and reducing to

more complex rules the vulgar tongue of Hindustan, gradually constructed an artificial language adapted only to literary composition. Mr. Colebrooke has however fully refuted this notion, and has shown that there is no reason to doubt that the Sanscrit was once universally spoken in India, and that it was the parent of the modern dialects which are spread through that country from mount Imaus to Cape Comorin. "It evidently," he says, "derives its origin (and some steps of its progress may even now be traced) from a primeval tongue, which was gradually refined in various climates, and became Sanscrit in India, Pahlavi in Persia, and Greek on the shores of the Mediterranean." He might have added that the Celtic, the German, and the Slavonian, were less ornamented dialects of the same ancient language.

The Hindu grammarians distinguish three eras in the history of their national language. 1st. That of the ancient or classical Sanscrit. This is the idiom to which Adelung applies the term *Déva Nāgarī*, which is well known to every tyro to belong to no language whatever, but to be the designation of the alphabet used in Sanscrit composition. The second era is that of the Pracrit, under which name are included the ten provincial languages of India. The third, termed the Magad'hi, comprehends the popular dialects, or Bhashas.

The ten Pracrits are the written dialects which are now used in conversation, and are cultivated by literary men. There is reason to believe that ten polished dialects formerly prevailed in as many different civilized nations, who once occupied all the fertile provinces of Hindustan and the Dekhin. They are thus enumerated by the Hindu grammarians: 1. The Saraswati bāla bānī, or "speech of children on the banks of the Saraswati," was the dialect of the Sareswata, a nation inhabiting the vicinity of the river Saraswati. This idiom is the Pracrit of the poets.

2. The Hindi was the dialect of the Cānyacubyas, whose capital was the ancient city Canóji or Canouge. This language is the ground-work of the modern Hindustani, which is intermixed with Persic and Arabic. Nine tenths of the Hindi may be traced back to pure Sanscrit; it has been said that the remainder is wholly distinct from it, and of separate origin, but this assertion, as Mr. Colebrooke observes, requires further proof.

3. The Gaura or Bengālī contains few words which are not evidently of Sanscrit origin.

4. Mait'hila or Tirhutiyā spoken in the sircar of Tirhút, and as far as the Nepaul mountains, has a great affinity with the Bengālī.

5. Utcala or Odradéśa, the language of Orissa.

These five nations of Hindus are termed the five Gaurs or Northern Nations; the remaining five are the Dravirs or Southern ones.

6. Drāvira is the southern part of the peninsula where the

Tâmel, Tamulian or Malabar language is spoken. A great number of Sanscrit words exist in this idiom, but Mr. Marsden considers the basis of it as a distinct language.

7. Mahârâshtra or Mahratta, spoken by the people of that name. This idiom also contains many words derived from an unknown source.

8. Kárnâta or the language of the Kárnâtaca. This is commonly called the Canarese. It bears the same affinity to the Sanscrit as the other dialects of the Dekhin.

9. Tailanga, or Telinga, the language spoken in Telingana, an ancient kingdom on the eastern coast of the peninsula. It is said to have borrowed more largely from the Sanscrit than the other dialects of the Dekhin.

10. Gúrjara, the dialect of Guzerat.

All these dialects, like other modern idioms, are much less abundant in inflections than the parent Sanscrit. Auxiliary verbs and particles supply the place of variations in the radical words.

The Magad'hi, or third class of languages, includes the *bhashas*, or vulgar dialects of India. Among them is the idiom prevalent in Multan, concerning which Adelung has announced a very curious fact. The wandering people who are dispersed over a great part of Europe, and are known by the names of Gipseys, Bohemians, and Zigeuners, were perceived by Grellmann to be of Hindu descent; but that author erred in confounding the Sudras, a class of respectable character, with the outcast Pariars; and he was mistaken in deriving the Gipseys from the former. These vagrants call themselves "Roma;" hence Whiter the author of the *Etymologicum Magnum* "imputes to them the building of Rome!" Pallas first perceived that the dialect of Multan bears a strong analogy with the Gipsy language; and Adelung has proved by an extensive comparison of their idioms, that this people certainly originated from some low cast in that part of India.

We must now add a few observations in proof of the affinity between the Sanscrit and the languages of the West, to which we have said that it is related. If this affinity were confined to a resemblance in any given number of roots, it might be attributed to the effects of accidental intercourse. It is only an essential affinity in the structure and genius of languages that demonstrates a common origin. This sort of relationship exists in the Sanscrit, the ancient Zend as well as the modern Persian, the Greek, the Latin, the German dialects; and is found, though not to the same extent, in the Celtic and Slavonic. In the Hebrew and its cognate idioms, as well as in the Coptic there are many Sanscrit roots, bearing little or no resemblance to the structure of that language. A striking example of affinity between these dialects occurs in the numerals, which we subjoin:

Sanscrît.	Persic.	Greek.	Latin.	Russian.	German.	Englsh.	Welsh.	Gaelic.
Eka,	ek,	ἑἰς, ἕν,	unus,	odin,	eins, cin,	one,	un,	aon.
Dwau,	du,	δύω,	duo,	dwa,	zwey,	two,	dau, dwy,	da.
Traya,	se,	τρεις,	tres,	tri,	drey,	three,	tri,	tri.
Chatur,	chchar, chatuwar (Zend),	τέτταρες,	quatuor,	chetare,	vier,	four,	pedwar, pettor (Oscan)	ceither.
Pancha,	pansh,	πέντε,	quinque,	pyat,	fuinf,	five,	pump,	coig.
Shash,	shesh,	ἑξήκτε,	sex,	shest,	sechs,	six,	chewe,	sia.
Sapta,	heft,	ἑπτα,	septem,	sedm, sem,	sieben,	seven,	saith,	seachd.
Ashta,	hesht,	ὀκτώ,	octo,	osm,	acht,	eight,	wyth,	ochd.
Nova,	nu,	ἐννέα,	novem,	devyat,	neun,	nine,	uaw,	noi.
Dasa,	dch, dese (Zend),	δέκα,	decem,	desyat,	zehn,	ten,	dég,	deach.
Ekadas,	yazdeh,	ἐνδεκά,	undecim,	eif,	eif,	eleven,	un ar ddég,	aon deug.
Dwadaz,	duazdeh,	δωδεκά,	duodecim,	zwoelf,	zwoelf,	twelve,	deuddég,	dadhug.
Vinsati,	bist,	ἑκατόν,	viginti,	zwanzig,	zwanzig,	twenty,	ugain,	fichid.
Trinsati,	si,	τριακότα,	triginta,	dreyssig,	dreyssig,	thirty,	dég ar hugain,	deich thar fichid.
Sat,	sad,	ἑκατόν,	centum,	hundert,	hundert,	hundred,	cant,	ciad.

The ordinals coincide remarkably in Greek, Latin, and Sanscrit, as Prat'hama or protoma, *πρωτα*, prima; dwitya, *δευτερα*; tritya, *τριτα*, tertia; chetoorta, *τεταρτα*, quarta; penchema, *πεμπτα*, quinta; sheshta, *εκτα*, sexta; septima, *επτα*, septima; ashtima, *ογδοα*, octava; novuma, nona (regularly deduced from the cardinal it would be novima); decima, *δεκατα*, decima, &c.

Here, as in most instances, we may observe that the Latin agrees with the Sanscrit much more nearly than the Greek.

The following are a few examples of roots which ramify through all these languages: the list might be extended to an almost indefinite number.

Pita, pitara, Sanscr.; peder, Pers.; *πατηρ*, Gr.; pater, Lat. (whence Ju-piter, Dies-piter); vater, Germ.; father.

Tada, S.; tâd, Welsh; tat'air, Irish; otshe, Russ.; tatta, vulgar German; we may add, taat, Finnish, and aita, Basque; daddy, vulgar English; father.

Mata, matara, S., mother; mader, P.; *μητηρ*, Gr.; mater, L.; mutter, Germ.; mater, Slav.

Bhrata, bhratara, S.; brother; bradar, P.; *φρατήρ*, (of the same tribe), Gr.; frater, L.; bruder, Germ.; brawd, brodyr, W.

Swasara, S., sister; kuaher, P.; soror, L.; schwester, Germ.; chwaer, W.

Padsja, S., boy; a-pos (privative), Pers.; *παις*, Gr.; *απαις* (privative); bachgen, W.

Duhita, duhitara, S., daughter; dochter, P.; *θυγατηρ*, Gr.; tochter, Germ.

Agni, S., fire; ignis, L.; ogon, Russ.; *πυρ*, Gr.; feuer, Germ.; fyre, English.

Apa, S., water; ap. P.; aqua, L.

Uda, S., the sea; } *υδαρ*, Gr.; udus, L.; wasser, Germ.; y
Udakam, S., water; } dwr, W.; water, English.

Dhara, S., earth; terra, L.; *ερα*, Gr.; erde, Germ.; daiar, tir, W.; *γη*, Gr.; ke, ge, Gaëlic.

Bhumi, S.; } bum, P.; humus, Lat.;

Jiami, S.; } zumin, P.; zemlija, Russ.

Naba (the air), S.; } *νεφελη*, G.; nubes, nebula, L.; nebel, G.;

Nibu (cloud), S.; } *νέβ*, W.; nebesi, Russ.

Himnala (heaven), himmel, Germ.

Nisa, S., night; *νύξ*, Gr.; nox, L.; notch, Russ.; nicht, Germ.; nôs, W.

Divos, S.; dies, L.; day, Eng.; dydd, W.; tag, Germ.

Jajanmi, S.; (beget) } *γίγναι*, *γενναω*, *γενός*, Gr.; gigno, L.;
gânu, W.; kind, Germ.

Genita, S.; (begotten), } genitus, L.

Janata, S.; (nations) } gentes, gens, genus, L.

Mrityu, S.; mors, L.; mrété, Zend; mertovii, Russ.; mord, morsch, Germ.; marw, W.

Yuvan, S., } young; { Iuwan, P.; juvenis, junior, juvenus, L.
Yún, S., }

Ieuange, W.; and yeong, Anglo-Saxon; jovank, Armoric.

Yauvana, S. youth; iau, W.

Ioban, Hindi.

Jugend, Germ.; juvenus, L.

St'ha, S., (stand); } Istadan, P. (to stand).
St'han, (station); }

Estam, P.; } sto, L.; } ἵστημι, Gr.; } I stand.

Estad, P.; } stat. L.; } ἵστησι, Gr.; } he stands.

Stehen, stand, Germ.; st'hira, S. } firm.
στερεός, Gr. }
stier, Germ. }

From each of the above roots is derived a large catalogue of words in all the languages mentioned.

In grammatical structure the Sanscrit scarcely differs more from the Greek and Latin than they differ from each other.

The particles, *a* privative, *poli*, *pro*, *con*, *dur*, *am*, are used in Sanscrit for the Greek *α*, *ποσι* (for *προς*), *προ*, *συν*, *δυσ*, *αντα*.

In the declension of nouns the same principle prevails through all these languages. The numbers are marked chiefly by varieties in the terminations. The Sanscrit, Greek, and the Slavonian dialects have a dual number. The cases, as well as all other inflections, are more numerous in the older than in the newer languages. The Greek and Latin can hardly be said to have more than four cases, for the ablative coincides with the genitive in the *one*, and generally with the dative in the other, and the vocative with the nominative. But the Sanscrit expresses by the termination a greater number of relations. The noun has seven cases, viz. the nominative, accusative, instrumental, dative, ablative, possessive, and locative; the five last answering to the signs *by*, *to*, *from*, *of*, *in*. The Slavonian dialects have also seven cases, adding the instrumental to the usual number. The Sanscrit locative terminates in the plural in *eshu* and *ishu*, answering to the Greek *εσσι* and *οισι*. The Sanscrit ablative in *at* corresponds with the Latin ablative in *ate*, the dative and ablative plural in *b'hyah*, or *bhyas* with the Latin cases in *bus*. In Sanscrit *u* marks the accusative, and *s* the genitive, as in German.

Adjectives are declined like nouns in Sanscrit, Greek, and Latin. In the comparison of adjectives the Sanscrit resembles the Greek in the termination of the comparative degree, and in Latin in the superlative, as

Yuvan (young), yuvattara, yuvattama,

Vidwasa (wise), vidwattara, vidwattama,

agreeing with the Greek *τετα* and the Latin *tima*. In this inflection the Celtic is richer than any other language. The Welsh has a fourth degree terminating in *ed*, and denoting equality.

But the conjugations of the verbs afford the strongest example of coincidence. The following is the present tense of the verb substantive:

Sanscrit	Asmi	asi	asti	—	smah	st'ha	. santi.
Greek	εσμι	εσσι	εστι	—	εσμεν	εστε	. εσθε
Russian	esm	esi	est	—	esmui	esti	. sut.
Latin	sum	es	est	—	sumus	estis	. sunt.
Persian	am	ai	ast	—	aïm	aïd'	. and.
Welsh	wyv	wyt	ocs	—	ym	ych	. ynt.
English	am	art	is	—	are	are	. are.

This verb is defective in many languages. In Latin and in Welsh several tenses are formed from an old verb which only survives in the Sanscrit in a tolerably perfect form. This is Bhavami, bhavasi, bhavati, &c. answering to the German ich bin, du bist, &c. The preter tense of this verb in Latin, Fui, fuisti, fuit, coincides with the Welsh Bûm, buost, bû; and the Latin fuissem, fuisses, fuisset, &c. with the Welsh Buaswn, buasit, buasai, buasem, buasech, buasent. The future in the Russian agrees with the Welsh, as Budu, budesh, budet—budem, &c. which, in Welsh, is Byddav (pronounced budhav), byddi, bydd—byddwm, byddwch, byddant.

The verb to eat coincides almost as closely :

Sanscrit.	Admi	atsi	. atti	—	admas	. att'ha	adanti.
Latin.	Edo	. edis,	. edit,	—	edimus	editis	edunt.
		es	. est			estis	
Greek.	ἔδω	. ἔδεις	. ἔδει	—	ἐδομεν	. ἔδετε	. ἔδοντι (Æol.)
Russian.	iem	. iesh	. iest	—	iedim	. iedite	iedyat.
German.	esse	. issest	. isst	—	essen	. esset	essen.

Some Sanscrit verbs coincide most with the Greek, others the Latin, as Jivāmi jivāsi jivāti — jivamāh jivāthah jivānti, with Vivo vivis vivit — vivimus vivitis vivunt. Dadāmi, dadāsi, dadāte, with διδῶμι, διδῶς, διδῶσι, &c.

The following are some miscellaneous examples :

Russian.	Verchu	vertish	vertit	—	vertim	vertite	vertyat.
Latin.	Verto	vertis	vertit	—	vertimus	vertitis	vertunt.

Again,

Welsh.	Elwn	elit	. elai	—	elym	. elych	. elynt.
Greek.	ἐλθοιμι	ἐλθοις	ἐλθοι	—	ἐλθοιμεν	ἐλθοιτε	ἐλθοιεν.

In all the above instances the German is more remote from the Sanscrit than the other languages; in the following it coin-

cides remarkably with the common prototype. Varttita, er werde (he shall be), vetsi, vetti—du weisst, er weiss (thou shalt know, he will know); Schrityati, er schreitet (in Latin, scribit) (writes); Shlisseyati, er um-schliesset (he encloses); Vindati, er findet (he finds); Mishrati, er mischt (miscit) (he mixes).

We will not fatigue our reader's patience by a longer citation of such resemblances. If he is desirous of information on this subject, and has any scruples to satisfy, we confidently refer him to Mr. Townsend's work, where he will find copious vocabularies and much curious matter. In fact, the volume is very nearly filled with a comparison of the languages of this family. We shall now return to Mr. Adelung, and consider his remarks on the history of the nations whose vocabularies we have investigated.

The nearest relatives of the Sanscrit are two languages which, like it, have been for many ages confined to the use of sacerdotal orders. From eighteen to twenty centuries have elapsed since the Zend and the Bali were living dialects: both of them coincide very nearly with the Sanscrit in their vocables, and are formed from the roots of that language according to the regular laws of elision and contraction. This fact was pointed out by Sir W. Jones, and has been confirmed by Dr. Leyden.

The Bali is the language of the Talapoins, or priests of the Buddha, who were persecuted and banished from Hindustan about the commencement of the Christian era. Their religion has been by some supposed, upon grounds by no means satisfactory, to be more ancient than that of the Brahmans. It is one of the numerous heresies, or deviations from the doctrine of the Vedas, which have sprung up in the fertile soil of Hindu superstition. The priests in emigrating carried with them their sacred books, which they still preserve in the original language, and contrived to establish their hierarchy in Tibet, whence they have extended their creed among the northern Mongoles as far as the Caspian, through the Chinese empire, the eastern peninsula of India, and the islands of Japan and Ceylon. It is the religion of the Grand Lama, of Fo, of Amida, and Sommona Codom, the three last of which are different names of their supreme saint.

The Zend is preserved in the Zendavesta, the ancient writings of the Persian Magi, for the knowledge of which we are indebted to the zeal and perseverance of M. Anquetil du Perron, who undertook a voyage to the East in quest of them. It is much to be regretted that in consequence of some petulant language, characteristic of his nation, he incurred the resentment of Sir W. Jones, and that the latter was prejudiced against him and scarcely sensible of his just merit. The great authority of Jones threw a temporary shade over the fame of M. du Perron; but it is now generally allowed by those who are competent to

form an opinion on the subject, that he has really collected ancient writings which have been preserved by the priests of fire, under various persecutions and calamities, from the period when their rites were celebrated with splendour in the capitals of Susa and Persepolis. The Parsees, both in Surat and on the mountains of Kirman, as far as we can trace them in writing, have professed to regard these works as the authentic documents of their rites and the rule of their faith. It is mentioned by Ebn Haukal, an Arab geographer, who lived at the early part of the tenth century, and whose narrative Sir W. Ouseley has translated, that in his time there were many Guébres in Persia, who practised their worship in fire temples, and possessed the ancient sacerdotal books of their sect; and there is no period in history in which we can with any probability suppose their works to have been forged, particularly when we consider that the idiom in which they are written was extinct long before the Christian era. The discovery that this idiom closely resembles the language of the Vedas in our opinion sets at rest the question as to the authenticity of the Zendavesta as a relic of the ancient Magi. That it was composed by Zoroaster in the time of Darius Hystaspes is only a probable supposition.

It is not easy to determine in what province of Persia the Zend was the popular language. We can see no degree of probability in the conjecture of Du Perron that it was in Northern Media, and we find no reason to reject the opinion of Sir W. Jones, that the Zend was the language of Farsisthan, and the parent of the Parsee, which was the dialect of that province and the ancient language of Persia before the Mohammedan conquest. If, as it has been supposed on apparently good grounds, the character of the Persepolitan inscriptions is allied to the Deva Nagari, and the words at least in part Zendish, this idea is strongly confirmed.

The Pahlavi is another ancient language of Persia, in which the commentaries in the Zendish books were composed at a time when that idiom had become nearly extinct, or was falling from some cause into disuse. The Pahlavi contains a great proportion of words derived from the Chaldee. It was the vernacular dialect of Parthia, and the era of its establishment in Persia was probably that of the Parthian monarchy. Mr. Adelung, in order to defend the conjecture of Sir W. Jones, who supposed the Pahlavi to have been the idiom used at the court of Darius and Artaxerxes, attempts to identify the Parthian race with the Medo-Persian dynasty, contrary to all the testimony of ancient history. The Caianian princes are mentioned by Khondemir and the author of the Sháh Námeḥ as the genuine successors of the old Persian kings, who held their residence at Ist-

akhar or Persepolis, and of whom Jemshid was one. Cyrus was of this family, who are called by the Greeks the Achæmenidæ, and he is said to have restored the splendour of the ancient dynasty of native princes, after it had suffered a temporary eclipse under the successes of the Medes or followers of Afrasiab. The successors of Cyrus cannot therefore be considered as a foreign race. Besides, it was during the reign of one of them, *viz.* Darius Hystaspes, that the Zendavesta is reported to have been composed.

Zend therefore was the language of the noble Persians at the time when their monarchy extended over Asia; and the Pahlavi was probably introduced by the Parthians, who drove the Seleucidæ out of the eastern conquests of Alexander. When the Parthian empire was destroyed, and the native line of princes restored, or at least a Persian race seated on the throne, the dialect of Farsist'han or the Parsee became the court language of Iran.

• Under the government of the Sassanidæ, and especially in the reign of Anushirvan, the golden age of Persia, this idiom was cultivated, and many works are said to have been composed in it. Some refer to this period the origin of the Zendavesta, and pretend that it was forged by the priests of fire after the re-establishment of their rites. But the idiom in which it is written had been at that time a dead language for many ages. The Pazend itself, which is a commentary on the text, composed at a period when the Zend had fallen into disuse, is in the Pahlavi or Parthian. This circumstance renders the fact of such a forgery extremely improbable. All the flowers of Persian literature, which had bloomed under the fostering care of the Sassanidæ, were consumed by the religious fury of the Mohammedan conquerors; at least nothing remains to our day. It is said, however, that certain relics were extant in the time of the poet Firdausi, and the historian Khondemir. This is indeed possible; but the compositions of those writers partake so much of Arabian imagery and of that peculiar style of fiction to which the eastern people have been so much devoted since their taste was corrupted by a fantastical superstition, that we cannot help suspecting the greater part of their productions to be 'frauds of the Mohammedans.

The modern Persic, as is universally known, is a mixture of the Parsee with Arabic:

The next offspring of the Indian family has held a still more conspicuous place in the history of literature and human society than the preceding; this is the Pelasgian stem, from which are descended the Greeks and Romans, and the modern nations in the south of Europe who speak dialects of the Latin. Our

author has given good reasons for including the Thracians in the same stock, as well as the numerous population of Asia Minor, and all the European tribes who appear to have been allied on the one hand to the Getæ and on the other to the Pelasgi. The Iyadians, Lycians, Phrygians, &c. are connected by many historical facts with the lineage of the Greeks and Thracians. The authority of Strabo is a far better reason for classing the Cimmerii with the Thracians and Getæ, than the mere resemblance of a name can afford for identifying this nation with the Cimbri in Denmark, or the Cambro-Britons in Wales. Yet many modern writers, among whom is even Mr. Townsend, talk of the Cimmerii in Britain, as if the name were synonymous with Welsh.

The Tauri, whose celebrated rites in honour of Diana, or of some unknown goddess to whom the Greeks gave that name, form the foundation of the romantic drama of Iphigenia, were probably a remnant of the Cimmerian stock. We learn from Herodotus that they were a distinct nation from the Scythians, remaining within the old Cimmerian confines.

With respect to the Getæ and their relation to the Goths, our author adopts the opinion of M. d'Anville. All the ancients supposed the barbarians who invaded the Roman empire in the reign of Decius, and who afterwards conquered it, to have been the same people over whom the legions of Trajan had triumphed, and who had been known from early antiquity under the name of Getæ. We are certain, however, that the Getæ were Thracians. On the other hand, we know that the language of the Goths was a German dialect. This appears from the translation of the Bible into the Mæso-Gothic by the bishop Ulphilas. The manners also of the Getæ distinguish them from the Germans: they lived in wagons and roamed about like their neighbours the Scythians. From these facts the learned Cluverius thought himself authorised to depart from the unanimous opinion of antiquity, and to announce the Goths as a new people. He supposes that they descended from the shores of the Baltic, and, entering the empire through the Getic country, were mistaken by the Romans for their ancient enemies. D'Anville and Grotius followed Cluverius, and Mr. Adelung joins himself to their party. We have no room to enter into the discussion of this question; but shall merely observe, that the German dialects, and particularly the Mæso-Gothic, are found to bear a strong affinity to the Pelasgian, as Dr. Jamieson, in his "*Hermes Scythicus*," and Mr. Townsend in the volume which lies before us, have sufficiently proved. This fact, of which Mr. Adelung was aware, puts the question with respect to the Getæ in a very different light from that in which it appeared to the excellent geographer

who first started it. Some efforts had been made long ago to find German interpretations for the Getic words accidentally preserved in the old writers. Gebel, in, the name of the Getic deity, was derived from "Gif all casen." &c.; but these attempts were too ridiculous to attract notice, though the opinion which gave rise to them was well founded.

Adelung derives the Illyrians, the supposed ancestors of the Albanians, from the Thracio-Pelasgians, and refers to a work of Thunmann, entitled "*Geschichte der östlichen Europäischen völker.*" As far as we know, this work has never been imported into England; but we are at a loss to conjecture what proofs can be found to identify the modern Albanians with the Grecian race. Our author is aware of this difficulty, and conjectures that these barbarians are not the Aborigines of Illyrium, but the remnant of some of the hordes who made their way into Europe during the declining ages of the Byzantine empire. The Alani, a nation of Caucasus, who were perhaps the Albanians of the Caspian shores, may possibly have left relics of their once formidable name in the coasts of the Adriatic. At the era of the Turkish conquest many of the Albanians emigrated, and still preserve their language in their hamlets in Calabria and Sicily.

The origin of the Pelasgi, and their relation to the Hellenes or Greeks, properly so called, has been a fertile subject of conjecture and dispute. Fourmont deduced the Pelasgi from Pelæg, and identified them with the Philistines. D'Ancarville insisted on deriving them from the Titans. Larcher, who should have been better informed, makes them Phœnicians, and Pel-louter forces them into the ranks of his favourite Celts. Our author adopts the only opinion which carries with it a shadow of probability: he considers the Pelasgi and Hellenes as one race. The passages from which this inference must be drawn occur so frequently in the writings of the Greek historians, that it is surprising they have been so often overlooked. We are told repeatedly by the Greeks, that the first inhabitants of the Peloponnesus were Pelasgi; and that when the Dorians introduced the Hellenic name into that country, the Arcadians, who defended themselves in their mountainous territory, and continued to boast that they were older than the moon, were still called Pelasgi. Yet we know that the Arcadian language was Greek, though a rude and unpolished dialect; and nobody will pretend that the Spartans and Argives, who fought under the Atridæ, were not Greeks, though it is certain that they were Pelasgians. The name of Hellenes belonged at first, as Thucydides informs us, to a kind of feudal association among the Thes-salian princes, under Hellen son of Deucalion, and was extended over the Peloponnesus by the conquest of the Dorians.

At what period the Athenians entered the confederacy we know not; but whenever it was, we may be sure that they did not, as Herodotus conjectures, abandon on that occasion their old Pelasgian speech, and learn universally a new language. Possibly the story of the death of Codrus, which savours strongly of Grecian fiction, was invented in order to conceal the submission of Athens to the Hellenic league.

The population of Italy is a very curious subject, and we regret that Adelung, who was so competent to such researches, has done little more than copy the speculations of Frèret on this topic. The mountaineers who occupied the fertile districts of the Apennines before the arrival of Grecian colonists, were partly Illyrians and partly of Celtic origin. It is not easy, or very important, to distinguish which tribes belonged to either of these nations.

The civilized Etruscans are far more important in history than the barbarous hordes of the Apennines; yet every thing relating to their history still remains enveloped in mystery. All the old writers, with the single exception of Dionysius of Halicarnassus, maintained that the Tyrrheni, or Tuscans, were a colony from Asia Minor. The maritime tribes of Pelasgi on the shores of the Hellespont are called Tyrrheni by Sophocles and Thucydides, and this seems to identify them with the Tuscans. The manners and institutions of the Etruscans appear to leave no doubt of their Oriental origin. Yet many late authors overlook all these facts, and attempt to derive them from the northern European nations. Adelung insists on proving the Etruscans to have been a Celtic tribe. His chief argument is their near affinity to the Rhæti, who inhabited the Rhætian Alps, and were, in his opinion, unquestionably a Celtic people. Hence he derives the Etruscans from the Celtæ. We may observe, however, that Livy, whose authority is the greater, as he was a native of the north of Italy, expressly affirms that the Rhætians were a colony from Etruria. The remains of Tuscan art, which Müller mentions to have been discovered in the Rhætian Alps, confirm this idea, for this people certainly drew their arts from Italy. If Livy be right, Adelung's argument falls to the ground. Probably the truth lies between both opinions. We may mention, as confirming this idea, a fact which has escaped our author: viz. that several names of the Roman gods and goddesses which are not Greek, are Celtic; and as the Romans borrowed their rites from the Tuscans, they probably adopted the titles of their divinities. Such are Venus, Luna, and Minerva, while Janus and Anna Perenna are both in their names and ceremonies plainly Oriental. Of the same kind were the worship of fire, under the name of Vesta, and the armed dances of the Salian priests.

The chief information we possess at present concerning the Etruscan language is contained in the work of Lanzi, entitled "Saggio di Lingua Etrusca." It appears that Mr. Adelung intended to insert some extracts from this work in the volume before us. These the editor has suppressed, under the singular pretext, that they contradict several of the author's conclusions. He deferred these extracts in order to insert them in an Appendix at the end of the work. No such Appendix however has made its appearance.

A very interesting part of Mr. Adelung's work is the historical account he has given of the Latin tongue from its rude beginning to its period of classical refinement, and to its subsequent degeneracy into the *Romance* of the middle ages, and the modern dialects of the south of Europe. The oldest specimen we have of the Latin language appears to be an hymn of the *Fratres Arvales*, a well known order of priests. It is referred to the age of Romulus.

•	Enos	Lases	juvate
	Nos	Lares	juvate
	Neve	luerue	Marmar Sius incurrere
	Nve	luem	Mamers Sines incurrere.
	in	Pleores	satur fufere Mars lumen sall
	in	flores	ador fieri Mars <i>λυμεν</i> maria
•	sta	Berber,	Semunes Alternei advocapit
	Siste	Semones	alterni advocate
	conctos.		
	omnes.		

This was an inscription discovered at the repairing of St. Peter's Church in 1777. The laws of Numa of which some fragments are preserved by Festus, must be nearly as ancient as the foregoing. The following is a specimen of them.

Sei hemonem fulmin Jobis ocisit nei supera genua tolited;
hemo sei fulmined ocisus escit oloe iousta nuli fieri oportetod.

Se cuips hemonem loebesom dolo sciens mortei duit, pariceidad estod, &c.

Even as late as 261 years before the Christian era, the old Celtic terminations in *od* and *ai*, were retained in the Latin language. The words *pucnandod* and *prædad* occur in the inscription in memory of the victory of Duilius.

From this rude state, it is surprising how soon the language became refined by a succession of great orators and poets, who had the example of the Greeks before them, and made the dialect of Rome approach continually towards the elegant structure of the Attic idiom. Fabius Pictor, Porcius Cato, Ennius, Plautus, Terence, and Cicero, form the series of illustrious men who

brought the language from rude simplicity to its utmost refinement.

This rapid improvement, accounts, as our author judiciously observes, for the confinement of pure Latinity to so small a number of the people: the lower orders were not able to keep up with the change. "Cicero knew only five or six Roman ladies in his time who spoke their language with purity and correctness;" when he heard his mother-in-law, Lælia, speak, he fancied he was listening to Plautus. Even the comic poets sinned every moment on the theatre against the purity of the language. Hence we may judge what was the state of the vulgar tongue. Quintilian complains that the populace could not utter an exclamation of joy without a barbarism. Already Plautus had divided the Latin tongue, as it was spoken at Rome, into "Noble" and "Plebeian." Afterwards, when the difference became yet more remarkable, the former was named classic, because it was only to be found among citizens of the first classes, and "*lingua Urbana*, and *Urbanitas*;" the latter was termed "*Vulgaris*" and "*Rustica*," because it was the most corrupt in the country. It was more difficult to acquire the classical Latin, even when flourishing in its highest perfection, than to learn the language of any foreign nation. Quintilian complains that it was a very hard matter for his scholars to learn Latin in the midst of Rome, and we are told by Cicero; "that he sometimes employed several days in studying the purity of a single expression."

It is not difficult to understand the causes of the decline of Latinity after the establishment of the monarchy. When oratory was no longer cultivated, the great incentive to improvement was lost. The distinguishing majesty of the Roman language ceased to exist when the dignity of republican manners had given way to the frivolous refinements of a court. A false taste immediately displayed itself. The higher class of citizens to whom the purity of speech had been confined were exterminated by the tyrants of Rome, and, amidst the turbulent horrors of a despotic government, people of the lowest order frequently rose to the highest rank. Even barbarians found their way to the Senate house, and before the reign of the second Claudius, an Arabian and a Goth had seated themselves on the throne of the Cæsars. The language of Cicero was now extinct, and nothing remained but the *lingua rustica*, which gradually prepared itself for its transition into the modern dialects.

But it was not till the irruption of the northern nations that the important change took place which destroyed the structure of the Latin language. The dialect was vulgar and debased before, but still it was Latin. It retained its inflections; the nouns

were declined in cases, and the verbs in conjugations. But the learning of these required greater attention than the barbarians could bestow, and in the dialects which were formed after the mixture of the conquerors with the old population, the use of particles and auxiliary verbs supplied the place of the old inflections. The consequence of this change was the loss of the varied collocation and harmonious structure of periods which had been the great ornament of the old languages, and particularly of the Latin, and the chief source of its rhetorical energy. A stiff and uniform structure, with little or no room left for choice of collocation, was necessarily adopted in the new language. The latter has however the advantage of perspicuity, in which the Latin is greatly deficient.

The comparative advantages and disadvantages of these two systems are very fairly estimated by Mr. Adelung.

"The new languages have often been reproached with degeneracy from their parent tongues. It is true that they have lost much in conciseness of expression and in richness of thought, but they have often gained in precision and perspicuity. The old idioms maintain an indisputable pre-eminence as the language of feeling and imagination; the modern as instruments of the understanding. Let every one therefore decide for himself how far he is at liberty to undervalue the latter."

We now pass to our author's account of the Celtic languages, and here we find nothing but inaccuracy and confusion. It is remarkable that foreign writers who touch upon this subject continually involve themselves in perplexity and error. Pelloutier and Mallet, though learned authors, particularly the latter, are full of mistakes with respect to the Celtic people and their languages. They ludicrously pronounce the High Dutch to be the most perfect specimen extant of this ancient idiom. Adelung, who has been deceived by Macpherson and other Scottish writers, represents the Gaëlic people as the only genuine offspring of the Celtæ. He imagines the Welsh to be the descendants of the Belgæ, who had possessed themselves of the south coast of Britain, before the arrival of the Romans, and avers that they have no claim to the title of ancient Britons, but are comparatively new comers; that their language is a jargon compounded of various shreds from other tongues, and that nearly one half of it is of German origin. He chooses to give it the name of Cimbric.

We cannot rest quietly and see our countrymen of the principality so unfairly stripped of the honour on which they have so long plumed themselves, without offering a few words in their behalf. We have sought for a motive for Mr. Adelung's unprovoked aggression, and have found it in the old name of

Cymru, (pronounced Cumri), which the Welsh give themselves to this day, and which he is determined to identify with Cimbri; in short, he is resolved to make our countrymen pass for a branch of that nation of savage monsters who laid waste the north of Italy and were defeated so shamefully by Caius Marius. But he is well aware that the dialect of the Cimbri was nearly allied to his own language. The names of the leaders of this people are evidently German, and we are informed by several Italian writers that a remnant of them still preserve their northern speech in some hilly cantons in the Vicentine and Veronese, where they were visited by a Danish prince who found them able to understand the language of his people.

Their intimate connection with the Teutones is a strong symptom of Germanism, and their fierce blue eyes, which are mentioned by Plutarch, bear the same testimony. Moreover we are told expressly by Cæsar, Tacitus, Strabo, and Pliny, that they were a native German race. This being settled, the only way of finding any affinity in their pedigree with that of the Welsh is to represent the latter as a branch of the Belgic Gauls, who according to Cæsar were in great part of German, or possibly of Cimbric, origin.

An appeal to the Welsh language completely refutes this unfounded conjecture. The dialect of the Welsh, as found in the Triads and in the writings of the old bards, is a far more genuine Celtic than that of the Gaëls. And if either people have ever been so far intermixed with foreigners as to destroy the integrity of its language, it was certainly the latter. One argument will serve amply to demonstrate the truth of this position. We have frequently had occasion to observe that the oldest dialects are more copiously inflected than modern ones. The Sanscrit has in this respect the advantage of the Greek (if it be an advantage) and of the popular dialects of India, and the Greek of the Romaic, or modern Greek. But the greatest disintegration in the structure of a language takes place when a nation becomes so mingled with foreigners as to constitute a new people. Such was the case of the Romans, who were formed of a mixture of Greeks and Celts, and more particularly of the nations of modern Europe, who grew out of the old Roman population, mingle ! with hosts of northern barbarians. In all these instances the idioms are found to have lost a great part of their inflections. Whenever indeed we find two dialects of one language, one of which has an inflected, and the other a simple structure, we may conclude the former to have undergone fewer alterations by foreign intermixture than the latter. Such is the difference that subsists between the Welsh and Gaëlic. The Welsh abounds with inflections of a particular kind, consisting of regular

permutations of the initial consonants of words, which seem to have originated on a similar principle with the euphonical orthography of the Sanscrit. Most words are capable of four such modifications. Thus; *Ty*, a house, becomes in different positions, *dy*, *nhy*, and *thy*; *Pen*, a head, becomes *ben*, *mhen* or *phen*; *Cu* a dog, *gu*, *nglu*, or *chu*, &c. Besides this example, the Welsh has a great variety of terminations in the plurals of nouns; it has four degrees of comparison in adjectives, and a copiously inflected verb. The Gælic has only one permutation of the initial consonants, and is deficient in all the other particulars above-mentioned. From these circumstances we may fairly infer that the Welsh is a more perfect or less corrupted dialect of the Celtic. Its vocabulary indeed contains very few foreign words, with the exception of those which have plainly been introduced from the Latin and modern English.

All the historical facts of which we are in possession favour this conclusion. Cæsar mentions the Belgic invaders as possessing merely the sea-coast of Britain. He says, "Interior pars ab iis incolitur quos natos in insula ipsa memoriæ proditum dicunt; maritima pars ab iis quos prædiæ aut belli inferendi causa ex Belgis transierant." Now the Welsh at the departure of the Romans, and consequently at their arrival, possessed so great a portion of the island, that they cannot be the people here described as carrying on piracy on the coasts. We know that they had extended their possessions into Scotland. Dumbarton was a fortress belonging to the Strathelwyd Britons; and Mr. Chalmers has proved indisputably that the names of places throughout the Lowlands of Scotland, as that of Aberdeen for example, are derived from the Welsh, whence we must conclude either that the Caledonians were of the Cambro-Briton race, or that the Welsh possessed the northern part of the island before the arrival of that people. These facts prove that the Welsh are the descendants of a nation who at one period had possession of the whole of this island, and who retained by far the greater part of it until the Saxon conquest; they are not, therefore, of the Belgian race.

The names of places in Gallia Celtica afford proof that the language of the genuine Celtæ was Welsh, and not Irish. Those particularly which are still preserved in Helvetia are all Welsh. We have heard indeed of Highland travellers meeting with people in the Alps who spoke Gælic; but these stories may all be traced to a very curious origin. Chamberlayne inserted in his collection of the Lord's Prayer a specimen in a Celtic dialect, which he had received from Walden in Essex, where some settlers from the Highlands still preserved their language. He gave it the name of Waldensic, and thus assisted future travellers

and philologists to discover a colony of true Scotchmen in Piedmont. We recommend this fact to the attention of the Highland Society.

It is remarkable that, notwithstanding the attention which has been directed to this subject, there is scarcely any point of importance relating to Celtic history which is not still involved in obscurity. The little progress that has been made can only be attributed to the manner in which inquiries have been conducted, and to the love of conjecture, by which our antiquarians have been bewildered. We are sorry to remark that Mr. Adelung has not contributed to dispel this darkness.

Mr. Townsend's work contains some vocabularies which serve well to illustrate the mutual affinities of the Celtic dialects and their relation to foreign languages.

Mr. Adelung's disquisition on the German language, contains a very elaborate and learned survey of the whole compass of Teutonic literature. He divides the dialects of this great nation into three principal branches, viz. the German, Scandinavian, and English. The German is again sub-divided into South German or Gothic, Middle German, and Low German, or Low Dutch. The South German dialects are all distinguished by their harsh and guttural pronunciation. This branch of the nation includes the Goths and Vandals, the Heruli, Quadi, Marcomanni, Burgundians, and Lombards. The South German is spoken in all the countries peopled by these nations and the Alemanni. The Bavarians, Austrians, Swiss, Suabians, and the people of Alsace and the Upper and Middle Rhine belong to this class. The Middle Dutch includes the vulgar dialects of Thuringia, Franconia, &c. The Low Dutch is spoken by the people of Lower Saxony, Friesland, Holland, and Belgium.

High Dutch is considered by Adelung, not as the popular language of any particular province, but as a refined idiom formed by and adapted for polite conversation and literature. The dialect of Upper Saxony, as spoken by the better orders, served as a basis for it, and it was chiefly diffused and rendered a general language by means of the Reformation and the writings of Luther.

Adelung's account of the Scandinavian and English contains nothing remarkable, except that he denominates the oldest specimens of our language Danish-Saxon, which, as he contends, succeeded the extinct Anglo-Saxon.

In the distribution of the Slavonian nations he follows Dobrowsky, who, it seems, has adopted the old division of Procopius and Jornandes. The Antes, or Eastern branch, includes the Russians and Slavonians of Illyrium. Under the Slavini, or Western, are enumerated the Poles, Bohemians, Servians, and

Northern Wends, who spoke the Slavonian language in Pomerania as lately as 1404, when it became extinct.

Under the Slavonian family might be arranged, as a subdivision, the Littish or Lithuanian idioms, which are a mixture of Slavonian and German. A dialect of this language was formerly spoken in Old Prussia.

We have now followed our author in his review of this great family of nations, who have spread the remains of one ancient idiom over so great a portion of the globe. A connected chain of languages, which every where claim a common origin, and differ only in dialect, extending from Cape Comorin to Iceland and Scandinavia, is a striking phenomenon, and one which excites doubt when first announced; it is found, however, to rest on sufficient proof to satisfy the utmost scepticism. That all these nations were colonies from India, or from some eastern country not far distant from it, is a conclusion which follows inevitably; but the period of their emigration, and the circumstances that attended it, will probably remain for ever involved in impenetrable darkness. It may be conjectured, that the hordes which are farthest removed from the original point, advanced into their present abodes at an earlier era than the nations which lie behind them in their track. The Celtic and German people had probably passed into Europe before the Pelasgi and Slavonians. The earliest notice we have in history of these nations leads us but a short way towards so remote an epoch. Herodotus mentions the Celtæ as inhabiting the country near Pyrene, probably the Pyrenees, and the sources of the Danube; and we derive our first intelligence of the German nations from Pytheus, who lived about 320 years before the Christian era. He mentions the Jutes as inhabiting the peninsula of Denmark, the Teutones on the coast to the eastward; next to them, on the amber coast, the Ostiæi, the *Æstii* of Tacitus, and the Cossini or Cotini, who were, according to Cluverius, the ancestors of the Goths. But how many ages they had already dwelt in their dreary abodes we can only conjecture from the history of the Pelasgi, who followed them, and who must have been settled in the confines of Europe and Asia at least five centuries before the Trojan war.

We can only conjecture the events which could give rise to this extensive and ancient colonization. A careful investigation of the religious rites and philosophical doctrines which were disseminated among these nations, might throw some additional light on their history, and on the degrees of advancement which they had attained at the period of dispersion; but we are forbidden at present from entering on this ground. Perhaps the political constitution which has prevailed from remote ages in the East, may contain the causes of many remarkable events in history.—

The complex division of mankind into different orders and hereditary classes, with the unnatural depression of the lower casts, could not have been established without many severe conflicts. The political convulsions which the maintenance of this order must have occasioned for many ages may have given rise sometimes to the expulsion of the usurping classes, sometimes to the emigration of the lower ranks. This hypothesis will account, as it has been observed by a writer of great learning and sagacity, * for the different aspects which the branches of the same stock present in their several colonies. With the Celtæ the higher orders had emigrated, and the slavish casts either followed in their train, or new subjects were acquired in the west by conquests over other barbarous nations. Hence the servile subordination which ever prevailed in the Celtic communities. The Druids and the military nobles in Gaul closely resemble the higher casts in India. The independent German races, among whom every man was a warrior and a freeman, were probably all descended from one cast. The heroic character of the Greeks, during the age of fabulous exploits, points them out as the legitimate progeny of the warlike Cshatriyas, and as such they are represented in the Puranas, under the name of Yavanas.

It remains to be inquired whether there are any other nations in Europe, or in distant parts of the world, whose languages fail to give similar proofs of connection with this widely scattered family. And here we must take our leave of Mr. Townsend, who has thus far accompanied us. The collection of vocabularies and grammatical forms which his work contains contribute much to elucidate the analogies of the European dialects, and their close relation to the primeval language of Hindostan; and he has placed many important facts, connected with this subject, in a more striking point of view than they had ever before appeared. But he now lays down his pen; and though so much ground remains unexplored, he informs us, to our great surprise, that all the languages on the earth have been clearly demonstrated to flow from one original. That original according to him is the Hebrew, or a sister dialect.

The West of Europe, in the time of Herodotus, was inhabited by the Celtæ and Cynetæ. We know who the former were; the latter remain to be the subject of conjecture. It has been supposed that the old Iberians are designated by this name: however this may be, they were certainly a very ancient people, and probably were seated in the west of Europe before the arrival of the Celts. Their language is yet preserved in the mountains of Biscay; and though it presents the most remote and most curious

relic of European antiquity, has received as yet very little attention from the learned. Some Spanish writers have declared it to be the antediluvian tongue; and we have perused a large octavo volume, by a Castilian author, in the hope of gaining some new light on its structure and origin; but have only learnt that the Cantabrig was the idiom in which the angel spoke to Abraham in the land of Charran. The elder Baron Von Humboldt has long ago promised to give a perspicuous and detailed account of the Biscayan people and their antiquities. In the mean time we must make the best use we can of the information contained in the several works of Larramendi, of which we possess a very good abstract in the collection of Mr. Adelung.

The old Cantabrian or Iberian race possessed all Spain, as appears by the names of places throughout the Peninsula, which are derived from their language. But they were not confined to Spain: we learn from Diodorus and Seneca, that the Sicani, who were driven by the Ligurians into Sicily, and the people of Corsica, were of this race, and spoke the Iberian language. The Aquitani are associated with them by Cæsar and Strabo. The Ibero-Ligyes of Scylax belonged to the same family, as well as the Ligurians of Italy, whom we find mentioned by Æschylus in a fragment of the lost tragedy of Prometheus Delivered. They are represented as guarding the confines of the country, and intercepting the journey of Hercules from Caucasus to Hesperia.

Ἡξεῖς δὲ Λιγύων εἰς ἀτάρβητον στρατὸν
ἐνθ' οὐ μαχῆς σάφ' οἶδα καὶ θεῶρος περ ἔν
μέμφει.

A number of German words are contained in the Basque, probably derived from intercourse with the Visigoths of Spain. Such are Baldra, belt;—Cilhar, silver;—Dorrea, door;—Dantza, dance, &c. A much greater number are of Latin origin; as abitua, habit;—abitoa, fir-tree;—amatu, to love, &c. Some vocables are Celtic; but, after abstracting all these additions, there remains so much which is peculiar, that the Basque must be considered as an original language, distinct from all other idioms with which we are acquainted. “The slightest comparison,” says Mr. Adelung, “suffices to distinguish it from the Celtic, with which many authors have connected it. The difference prevails as well in particular words, as in the whole of the grammatical structure.” He has added a vocabulary in proof of the former point; the latter is exceedingly evident. The Basque abounds in multifarious inflections; but they are not founded on the principle which modifies the Indian dialects: they are formed by a variety of particles, suffixed to or inserted in the middle of the radical words. By means of these are produced six cases in the nouns, with a double

declension to each, and eleven moods of the verbs, viz. an indicative, consuetudinary, potential, voluntary, obligatory, necessary, imperative, subjunctive, optative, penitinary, and infinitive.—The following is a specimen:—*il-dau*, he is dead;—*il-ete-dau*, he must be dead;—*il-eto-dau*, it is probable that he is dead.

From the Biscayan, in the west of Europe, we proceed to the Finnish, and Lapponic, in the north, another wholly unconnected family of languages. To the nations of this stock, collectively, Adelung gives the name of *Tchudes*; and he establishes on a firm basis, the old opinion of Leem and Gunnerus of Drontheim, which has been called in question by misinformed writers, that the Finns, Laplanders, and Esthonians, are tribes of one kindred; and that the Hungarians or *Madjars*, as they call themselves, are a remote branch of the same stock, the language of the latter being much intermixed with that of the *Petchenegars*, and other Tartar tribes, with whom they have been associated and mingled. A Laplander and a Finn cannot understand each other: the language of the former is split into a number of dialects, each wandering alone, having one peculiar to itself; so that one family, as often happens among savages, is scarcely intelligible to another. In many particulars the Lapponic coincides more nearly with the Hungarian than the Finnic; yet with the latter it is manifestly allied, as our author proves by a careful analysis of the grammatical structure of both. In the work of Leem, which contains a very excellent and interesting account of the Norwegian Laplanders, we find that their language has some traits which remind us of the Celtic, and we should not be surprised if a careful comparison should point out more. It is, indeed, highly probable, that when the Asiatic colonies arrived with their Druidical hierarchy in the north of Europe, they found that country already occupied by tribes of Tchudic race, and that some intermixture followed. A permutation of consonants prevails in the Lapponic, not unlike that of the Celtic dialects. The nouns have from 10 to 15 cases; these, however, are not real inflections, but formed by prepositions, or rather suffixes added to the terminations of the nouns. Other inflections are very abundant, but mostly on the same principle. The present tense of the verb substantive is as follows:

Lapponic.—Sing. 1. *Leh*. 2 *lep*. 3 *le*.—Dual. 1. *Len*. 2 *lepen*. 3 *lepe*.—Plural. 1. *lepe*. 2 *lepet*. 3 *lan*.

Finn.—Sing. 1. *Olen*. 2 *olet*. 3 *on*.—Plural. 1. *Olemme*. 2 *olette*. 3 *owat*.

The numerals are nearly the same in the two languages up to *ten*, the term for which is totally different. The number nine was probably the last term of their arithmetic, when the tribes of the Tchudic stock first separated. They give themselves the

same national denomination. In short, it is evident that they were formerly one people.

The origin of this nation is a curious question; and here the Hungarians come to our aid. This tribe, the Ongres, Ugurs, or Madjars, of different writers, are deduced by Abulgasi from the Huns. His opinion is supported only by the resemblance of the names; and this circumstance does more to invalidate it than the difference of bodily characters between the present Hungarians and the ancient Huns, which, though very considerable, may be accounted for, by the agency of physical causes. The Ongres come first to our view in the 4th century, when they inhabited Bashkiria, between the Tobol, the Volga, and the Jaik. In the 7th century we find them in alliance with the Chazares, living on plunder and the chace, in the department of Catharinoslav. Towards the end of the 9th century seven tribes, of which the most considerable was called Madjars, were driven out of their territory by the Petchenegars, and passed the Carpathian mountains into Pannonia, where they settled, and gave a new name to that country. The tribes of Ongres, who remained in Asia, were seen by Rubruquis in 1251. As it is proved incontestably that the Finnish language is allied to the Hungarian, these nations must be held to be of one race, and to have emigrated originally from the same quarter.

The old writers are exceedingly anxious as usual to force a comparison between the Lapponic and the Hebrew. Olave Rudbeck, a Swede, had the boldness to assert, that out of 2000 or 3000 words, there are only 200 or 300 which are not from Hebrew or Syriac. We only notice this absurd declaration to express our astonishment that Mr. Townsend has been so far deceived by it as to pronounce peremptorily that the Lapponic is more "pure," by which he means nearer to the Hebrew than the modern dialects of Arabia.

Thus we find in the extremities of Europe, towards the north and west, the remains of nations, who from their situation must be supposed to have occupied this portion of the earth before the arrival of the Indian colonies. The languages of the Cantabrians and Tehudes are totally distinct from each other, and from those of the Indian stock. Even the numerals, which coincide so extensively in languages otherwise unconnected, have here no resemblance. The Tehudes probably possessed all the southern shores of the Baltic, from which they were expelled by the Germans, and driven into Scandinavia.

The north of Asia, from the country occupied by the Finns to the sea, which separates this continent from America, is peopled by tribes of various origin, which are arranged by Mr. Adelung in three departments. The first contains seven nations of mixed

race, who are more or less connected with the Tchudes; the second consists of the people called Samoiedes, and various scattered tribes, who claim a common origin with them; in the third are placed several nations, whose history has not been investigated and who speak languages quite unconnected. As these nations are very little known, we shall extract some of the most interesting of our author's observations concerning them.

1. The seven nations called Permians, Vogules, Ostiacs of the Oby, Tcheremisses, Votiaks, Mordouines, and Teptjerais, have been represented by Pallas, Gmelin, and others, as so many tribes of Finns, and their languages are generally said to be Tchudic dialects. Adelung shows that this affinity has been very much exaggerated. Of 200 Permian vocables, which Müller the Russian historian has collected, 17 are of Finnish origin: he found only eight in the same number of Vogulian words, 16 in the Tcheremissic, and 22 in the Votiac vocabularies. In several of these there is a considerable mixture of Tartar words, which may well be accounted for from the long dominion of that people. The great mass of vocables in their language is apparently distinct, and of separate origin in each.

The Permians now inhabit the governments of Archangel and Kasan. In the middle ages they seem to have possessed all the country between the White Sea and the Ural Mountains. Othere, the celebrated voyager and friend of Alfred, represents the Biar-mahs as a very populous nation, and says they spoke the same language as the Finns. The Icelandic traditions tell us, that this region was formerly enriched by the commerce of Persia and the Indies. It is difficult to imagine what was the foundation of this rumour.

2. The Samoiedes are the most destitute wretches of the whole human race. They procure a miserable subsistence by fishing along the shores of the icy sea, and extend from the neighbourhood of Archangel to the Lena. They probably inhabited formerly a more hospitable climate, and were driven to the northern coasts by the Tartars and Mongoles; some tribes of the same kindred are dispersed around the shores of Lake Baikal and the borders of Mongolia. The tribes who wander through these wide regions have such a diversity of dialect, that it is difficult to recognise their mutual resemblance; yet a careful examination discovers enough to identify the race. Perhaps in a few ages these traces will be lost.

3. Between the Lena and Béhring's Straits are found several hunting or fishing tribes, who are for the most part addicted to the Shaman paganism. The Jeniscan Ostiacs, the Tchuktschi, and the Kamtschadales, are those whose names are best known in Europe. As far as we can judge by the vocabularies which have

been collected of their languages, no affinity can be discovered between them, or any resemblance with the idioms of nations better known, with one remarkable exception, which we shall hereafter notice.

Such is the result of Mr. Adelung's observations on these remote tribes, and their languages. We may remark, however, that in his anxiety to avoid the common error of philologists, he approaches the opposite extreme, and scarcely allows their due weight to real coincidences. A few vocables common to two distant nations do not, indeed, authorise our classing their languages together; but if such a coincidence cannot be referred to accident, it proves a connection more or less remote between the nations in whose dialects it occurs. Traces are to be met with in the idioms of many remote nations in northern Asia, which point out this sort of affinity between them and the southern races.

The mountainous tract between the Euxine and Caspian Seas, which has received the name of Caucasus, affords a dwelling to a multitude of independent tribes, the remains, perhaps, of different nations, who have traversed this region in remote ages, in their way from Southern Asia to the North. Adelung has derived all his acquaintance with them from Güldenstadt and Reinegg, who are inferior in accuracy and extent of information to Klaproth, who was sent by the Russian government, at a more recent period, to survey the Caucasus, and whose travels are the subject of our preceding article. In several particulars he has corrected the statements of his predecessors.

The Caucasian nations are distributed into five principal branches, distinguished from each other in languages and in origin. 1. The Abassians inhabit the north western tract: they are probably the nation who, in the time of Strabo, practised piracy on the shores of the Euxine: they are now wild mountaineers, and as much distinguished from their neighbours by their features as by their languages, which have no affinity with any other. 2. The Circassians, or more properly Kasacks, possess the northern declivities of Caucasus and the neighbouring plains. A tribe of this race, intermixed with Russians, gave origin to the Cossacs of the Don. The Circassian bards retain among them the tradition of the Amazons, a nation of women, who, as they say, settled in the territory of the Nogay Tartars, and intermarried with that people. This is exactly the story of Herodotus: he says the Amazons came into the country of the Scythians, who appear, from a variety of circumstances, to have been the ancestors of the proper Tartars. 3. The Ossetes, on the high mountains above the Circassians, are, according to Klaproth, of Medo-Sarmatian race. He gives some reasons for believing them to be the remains of the celebrated Alani. 4. The Ingushi are a wild

people, dwelling near the sources of the Terek. 5. The Lesgi are divided into many tribes, or rather the name includes various hordes, who have little or no affinity.

The languages of all these nations are said to be essentially distinct.

The more fertile and level countries, which border on the Caucasus to the southward, are called by Europeans Georgia, but more properly Gurgisthan, from the river Kur, the Cyrus of the Greeks. This country is the seat of a nation well known to antiquity, under the names of Iberians and Colchians, who carried on commerce on the Caspian and Euxine seas. According to Klaproth they have ancient writings in a peculiar character which record the invasion of Asia by the Cimmerii of Herodotus. It is agreed by all writers that their language has no affinity with any other known idiom.

The Armenians are a remarkable nation of western Asia, whose language has been preserved from the beginning of the fifth century by the use of letters. The idiom of that time differed however widely from the modern dialect, as we learn from a translation of the Bible executed by Miesrob, whose pupil was the historian Moses of Chorene. The Armenian language differs widely from all others, even in those vocables which are necessary to the rudest nations; yet its grammatical structure, which has an affinity with that of the Greek and Sanscrit, induces a suspicion that this diversity has been the effect of a gradual fluctuation.

The high mountainous ridge of Asia, which rises from the north of the Caspian, and stretches across to the Eastern Ocean, has been from the remotest periods of history, the abode of several barbarous nations, who have poured themselves down from time to time on the more polished nations of the south, and have every where rendered their name terrible to future ages. The nomadic hordes of this elevated plain belong to three great races equally illustrious in deeds of blood.

1. The native region of the Turks or Tartars is the western declivity of this steppe towards the Caspian sea, and the banks of the Volga. This immense nation is divided into a number of departments, whose names and affiliations our limits will not permit us to pursue. There is sufficient evidence of their belonging to one stock, though their languages are infinitely diversified. The Scythians of the Greeks, in the definite sense of that name, were this same nation, and it is remarkable that the Nogay Tartars, as Klaproth informs us from local observations, have still that distemper prevalent among them, to which Herodotus ascribes so curious an origin.

The language of the Ottomans is better known than the dialects of other Tartar hordes. The modern Turkish is mixed with

Arabic and Persic, but its Tartarian basis is easily distinguishable from these additions, and contains such a number of German vocables, as prove a remote connexion between the Tartar and German races. We may observe that the Sauromatæ, who spoke the Scythian language in the time of Herodotus, are certainly connected with the Slavonian family. The features of the Tartar nations are European.

2. The mountains of Altai are the cradle of the Mongolian race, whose features distinguish them as widely as those of the Negro from the rest of mankind. Three great nations belong to this stock: the Kalmucks, the Burættes, and the proper Mongoles. These people are probably the Argippai of Herodotus, and the Seres of the later Greeks: they are doubtless the Hiong-nu of the Chinese historians, and the Hunns who laid waste Europe.

Their language, which is better known than many others, is polysyllabic, but formed in the structure of the monosyllabic dialects; yet it is not without some traces of resemblance to the European languages. A number of words contained in the vocabulary given by Strahlenburg exist, as Vallancey has remarked, in the modern Irish; Mr. Townsend has copied them in his remarks on the Gaëlic language.

3. The eastern region of the Asiatic steppe is the seat of the Mantshurian, or Mant-shoo race, the conquerors of China. The Tungusians, divided into the Rein-deer, Horse, and Dog-Tungusians, and the Fishing Tungusians, who wander from the river Ienisy to the limits of Daouria, are a branch of this family.

They have a distinct language of peculiar structure. Yet, divided as they are from all connexion with European history, they have a number of words which are found in several of our dialects. Mr. Adelung has given a list of them, a part of which we extract.

“ Ura; Gr. *ουρα*; Kalpin; Gr. *καλπος*; Chop; Germ. *schopf*, Eng. *top*; Non; Germ. *nonne* (girl); Heren; Germ. *heer*; Eng. *array*; Kisun (word), *kisureme* (to talk); Germ. *kosen*, Fr. *causer*; Hife; Germ. *hufe*; avena, Lat. (pipe); Fahala (black); Germ. *fahl*; Farshe; pars, part; Morin; Eng. *mare*; Singui, *sanguis*; furu, *furor*; fury; Mala; *malleus*, hammer; Ania, *annus*, year, &c.”

Beyond Mantchuria, to the eastward, the Peninsula of Corea contains a number of states, formerly independent, but now united under one sovereign, who is tributary to China. The Chinese pretend that this subjection* took place 2188 years before Christ. The Jesuits who went from Pekin to Corea found that the nations neither understood the Chinese nor the Mantchurian language. Their dialect seems to be of the monosyllabic class.

In the island of Sagalien, the longest in the world, the inhabitants change their name and language in every village.

The people of the Kuriles, who are said to be covered with hair on their backs, speak a peculiar language. The Japanese suppose themselves to be descended from the Chinese. Their language however gives no support to this opinion. It is polysyllabic, and totally different from the Chinese, and, as far as we know, from all other languages. The same remark may be made of the idiom of Formosa.

The extensive traces of one language scattered over the islands of the Indian Seas and Pacific Ocean is a very curious phenomenon. Adelung is very imperfectly informed concerning the history of these islanders, which has been solely investigated by our countrymen, particularly by Leyden, Marsden, and the companions of Cook. An opinion long prevailed that all these tribes were colonies from Malacca, although many striking facts opposed themselves to such a conclusion. Marsden however has shown that the Malays themselves are a colony from the islands, which settled at some remote period on the main land. The inhabitants of all this region, which has been termed Polynesia, may be distributed into three classes, according to the different states of society in which they are found.

1. The Negro races, who are every where savages, inhabit the larger islands, and the interior of some others, of which they appear to be the oldest inhabitants. Their languages are very various, and often radically different in adjoining islands; the dialects however of some of their tribes resemble those of the second class. 2dly. The Tattooed tribes, to whom belong the Battas of Sumatra, the Pintados of the Philippines, and the natives of the remote isles in the Pacific. Their languages resemble the Otahitean. 3dly. The Menangkabow race is settled in many of the Indian islands, and on the Malayan coast.

We regret that the great length to which our paper has already extended forbids us from following Mr. Adelung and his successor, Professor Vater, through their history of the dialects of the African and American savages. Their remarks on the latter particularly, which are comprised in the last part of the *Mithridates*, and appeared at a later period than the rest of the work, are very interesting. The most striking fact which presents itself is the endless diversity of the idioms, which prevail among these wild nations. Their languages are so numerous that Mr. Jefferson, from this circumstance, fancied that the population of America must be more ancient than that of the Eastern continent.

We shall conclude our observations on the history of languages by some remarks on the Hebrew, which we have purposely reserved for this place.

We have had frequent occasion to remark, that the dialects of barbarous nations are infinitely diversified. Among the savage

tribes of Terra Australis, and the wild hunters of America, every river and range of mountains divides nations whose languages scarcely bear any traces of resemblance. The same remark may be made of the people of northern Asia and of Africa; in short, of all races of men in a corresponding stage of society. But the history nearly of all nations goes back to a similar period of barbarism; consequently this diversity of idioms was once almost infinite and universal. The Indian colonies in Europe may seem to be exceptions to these observations; but the era of their migration was comparatively recent, and their languages were preserved from fluctuation by particular causes. The Celts, at their departure from the East, had an order of men whose profession was learning and philosophy. The institution of the Bards, which was probably coeval with Druidism and the similar order of the northern Scalds, and the public festivals, where the poets of Greece sung verses in honour of their heroes, contributed to preserve the vestiges which we have traced of one ancient idiom prevalent among all these tribes, while, among all other nations, languages are found to be infinitely various.

But it has commonly been supposed that the Hebrew was the language of the antediluvian world, and that which alone survived the Flood; accordingly, philologists have generally considered it their duty to trace all languages to this original; and this is the rock on which they have so often split. We know not why this notion has been so frequently taken for granted; perhaps it has been thought that the Hebrew must have been the original language, because it was the idiom which was chosen to be the medium of revelation; but the same plea might be urged with equal force in favour of the Greek. This is a weak and conjectural argument. If it be said, that the history of the Hebrews, as given in Genesis, which mentions a regular succession of patriarchs from Noah, proves the original speech to have been handed down from one generation to another, we need only appeal to that history in order to discover that no such inference is authorized, or in the slightest degree countenanced by its testimony.

The first important event related after the flood is a great migration towards the West. This was probably one of the earliest colonies from the East; and the sacred historian, having no concern with the remainder of mankind, confines himself in the sequel to what befell this settlement in Shinar. We shall not discuss the nature of that event called the Confusion of Languages: whether it was, as Dr. Shuckford and Mr. Townsend are anxious to represent, a consequence of natural circumstances or not, the historian had doubtless a purpose in recording it; and we can at least gather this from his account, that the portion of mankind

to whom it relates, including the ancestry of the Hebrews, were scattered over the earth as insulated hordes, and spoke a variety of different languages. If the Hebrews had enjoyed any particular exemption, and had alone preserved the original language of mankind, this would doubtless have been mentioned as an instance of the particular care of Providence for their nation, which the sacred writer takes every opportunity of setting forth.

The Hebrew language, indeed, has none of the characters of any ancient idioms. We have seen, in an extensive comparison of languages, that the most ancient are generally complex in their structure; that when they are mixed with foreign dialects, they gradually lose their inflections and become more simple, and afterwards supply by a number of adjuncts and circumlocutions the want of modifications of the roots. This is exactly the character of the Hebrew.

Philologists are not as yet sufficiently agreed how far the Hebrew and the old Egyptian language were connected: we know, however, that the Ethiopic and Hebrew were cognate dialects; and the Egyptians are declared by every historical testimony to have been originally a tribe of Ethiopians. Hence we should conclude that the idiom of the former, in very early times, could not be remote from that of the Hebrews. Sir W. Drummond is of opinion that the affinity between them was very close. If such were the case, we are at liberty to suppose that the twelve families of Israel, which grew into tribes during their 400 years abode in Goshen, adopted the idiom of that country, and that the Hebrew in which Moses wrote the Pentateuch was in reality a dialect of the old Egyptian. It will then be possible that Abraham, when he came from the East, spoke the ancient language of Elam, or Persia, viz. the Zend or Sanscrit, the only idiom in the world whose structure, when closely analysed, bears no trace of a rude original, and whose history reaches beyond that period when the earth was peopled with barbarous and independent hordes.

On the whole we are of opinion, that the fact which Mr. Townsend has proposed to himself to establish, viz. that one language was once common to the whole human race, must rather be gathered as an inference than proved by a direct comparison. That the earth was ever extensively inhabited by nations speaking one idiom we do not believe; but we have no doubt that all mankind originated from one family, and, while they constituted a single family, had one language. In proof of the unity of our origin there is, as Mr. Townsend has observed, no want of historical evidence. To many persons by no means predisposed to admit this conclusion, because it is favoured by our Scriptures, the evidence for it has appeared satisfactory, among whom we may

number the names of Bailly and Voltaire. This inference is besides in conformity with the general analogy of nature.

The only arguments which afford a specious pretence for those who maintain that there are more races of men than one, are the great physical diversity and the insulated situation of the American and Negro nations. Many naturalists have contended, that these races form distinct species from the European; and this is the point on which the question as to the unity or plurality of races chiefly hinges. We shall not enter into this inquiry, which is strictly physiological, our present concern being only with languages and historical facts. But besides the physical diversities which may perhaps be attributed to climate, or other causes, the native people of America are so cut off from the rest of mankind, they were, when discovered by Europeans, so destitute of those primary means and resources by which life is sustained and preserved, such as the use of the cereal gramina, of milk, and of domestic animals, that many authors have been disposed, from these circumstances, to look upon them as an indigenous race. The contrary position, however, is every day receiving illustration. The arts and sciences of the Mexicans and Peruvians have been clearly proved to be of Asiatic origin, and in this instance, as in several particular examples, the comparison of languages has afforded useful aid. Professor Vater was, we believe, the first to announce the discovery, that the Tschuktschi in Asia speak the same language with the Esquimaux and Greenlanders. With the assistance of the materials collected by Mr. Humboldt, he has also very much extended the number of coincidences between the dialects of the hunting tribes of America and the Tungusians and other Asiatics, and seems to have ascertained the fact which Dr. Barton has the merit of having first suggested.

ART. XXII. STATE OF THE MADHOUSES IN ENGLAND.

Report, together with the Minutes of Evidence, and an Appendix of Papers, from the Committee appointed to consider of Provision being made for the better Regulation of Madhouses in England. [Ordered by the House of Commons to be printed, 11th July, 1815.] Each subject of Evidence arranged under its distinct Head. By J. B. Sharpe, Member of the Royal College of Surgeons. 8vo. pp. 411. London. Baldwin and Co.

Description of the Retreat, an Institution near York, for Insane Persons of the Society of Friends: containing an Account of its

Origin and Progress, the Modes of Treatment, and a Statement of Cures. By Samuel Tuke. York. 1813.

A History of the York Lunatic Asylum: with an Appendix, containing Minutes of the Evidence on the Cases of Abuse lately inquired into by a Committee, &c. Addressed to W. Wilberforce, Esq., one of the Contributors to Lapton's Fund. York. 1815.

Practical Hints on the Construction and Economy of Pauper Lunatic Asylums; including Instructions to the Architects who offered Plans for the Wakefield Asylum, and a Sketch of the most approved Design. By Samuel Tuke. York. 1815.

It is a celebrated observation of one of the most admired of the European philosophers, that in all the countries through which the traveller proceeds, he will find a measure of the civilization to which they have attained, in the condition of the roads. The circumstance, it will be owned, is characteristic; and the remark sagacious. But there is another test, far more constant and infallible, of the civilization, or barbarity, of different countries; and that is, the degree of legislative care bestowed upon the more helpless portions of our species.

In rude and barbarous ages the attention which the miserable attract is little indeed. The efforts which, in such periods, legislation displays, are almost wholly directed towards the depression of the more helpless classes, and to the means of retaining them in a state of perfect subservience to the interests and will of the powerful. By this, in earlier ages, the powers of legislation are engrossed, and by this they are exhausted. In tracing the history of human happiness and misery, it is interesting to observe, as knowledge increases, how one thing after another is done for this more numerous portion of the species; at first reluctantly and slowly; by degrees more cheerfully and with a quicker succession; at first in the way of bounty alone; afterwards by the communication of a small number of rights, which are slowly augmented, till, at length, the ultimate triumph of legislation is displayed, in a code of laws not less favourable to the poor in reaping the fruits of their labour, than to the rich in expending the produce of their stock and lands.

Among the helpless portions of the species, there are two sorts, of whom the helplessness is to be regarded as the most complete and deplorable; these are prisoners, and the insane. It appears, from the experience both of existing and of antecedent facts, that it requires a very high degree of civilization to produce a legislative provision capable of preventing the miseries which neglect must entail upon those who are incapacitated for taking care of themselves. It is not to be expected, that

the happiness or misery of persons in such circumstances, should occupy for an hour the thoughts of those who first mould the institutions of civil society. But it is remarkable, that notwithstanding the refinement to which in our own country civilization has in most respects attained, the care of the imprisoned and the insane is a new feature of our legislation. The years are not many since Howard, the pride and boast of our land, a character more difficult to form than that of any of the heroes whom, from the beginning of the world, the folly of man has inshrined, first pointed out the physical and moral condition of British prisoners to the attention of their countrymen. Since his time some legislative efforts have been made, and these, with the awakened attention of the public, have rectified many abuses: it is known, however, to all, with how much difficulty, and how sparingly, the legislature has moved, and how small a portion is yet achieved of the great and beneficent work we are contemplating. At the same time it is consoling to reflect, that as each successive step has been stronger and quicker than that which preceded, we may with some confidence look to a vigorous and steady progress in the time to come.

The march of the legislature has been more than ordinarily slow in providing against the miseries liable to be endured by the insane. The formation of the Committee, from whom we have derived the present reports, is nearly the first arrangement that has been made to procure information upon the subject. The act which, a number of years ago, was passed for the purpose of establishing some regulations with regard to private madhouses, was framed for the protection, not so much of those who were, as those who were not insane; that no person might be subject to wrongful confinement: and it was framed under so much ignorance of the circumstances which it undertook to regulate, that it is declared by the existing Committee of the Honourable House, to be altogether inadequate to the exigencies of the case; which present an urgent and irresistible demand for a new and better provision.

The Report, presented to the House of Commons toward the close of the last Session of Parliament, commences with the following emphatical words: "Your Committee, deeply sensible of the importance of the matter referred to their consideration, have applied themselves with great earnestness to the performance of the duty imposed on them by the House.—Your Committee cannot hesitate to suggest, with the utmost confidence, from the evidence they now offer to the House, that some new provision, of law is indispensably necessary for ensuring better care being taken of insane persons, both in England and Ireland, than they have hitherto experienced; the number of whom appear to be

very considerable: as the inquiries of the Committee have convinced them, that there are not, in the country, a set of beings more immediately requiring the protection of the legislature than the persons in this state, a very large proportion of whom are entirely neglected by their relations and friends. If the treatment of those in the middling or in the lower classes of life, shut up as insane in hospitals, private madhouses, or parish workhouses, is looked at, your Committee are persuaded that a case cannot be found, where the necessity for a remedy is more urgent."

It is of importance to adduce some of the testimonies presented in the evidence, which affirm the egregious imperfections of the existing act. Dr. Weir, Inspector of Naval Hospitals, having minutely described the treatment of the naval patients maintained at the expense of Government in the madhouse of Sir Jonathan Miles, at Hoxton, was asked, "What is your opinion as to the present system of managing insane persons throughout the kingdom, as far as your observation and experience have gone?—From the gross mismanagement and abuses that have existed and still continue to exist at Hoxton, under the immediate inspection of the present commissioners for regulating maniacal institutions, I am fully satisfied, that nothing less than a newly constituted establishment will ever be sufficient to correct the abuses that have crept in universally, both at the public and private institutions; and to place, at the same time, those long-neglected and pitiable objects on such a footing, as to ensure their future comfort, as far as is consistent with their respective maladies."

Dr. Richard Fowler, of Salisbury, was asked, "Are you of opinion, that the provisions of the Act of the fourteenth of the King, now in force, are sufficient to answer the purposes intended by it?—It appears to me they are totally inefficient. It has always struck both the magistrates and myself, that our visits were quite inefficient. It appeared to me that they were inefficient upon a great number of points; that they were inefficient as to ascertaining whether we had, or had not, seen all the rooms appropriated to patients belonging to the house; that they were inefficient inasmuch as we had no means of ascertaining when persons appeared to be tolerably sane at the time, whether it is a lucid interval, or permanent."

Dr. Powell, the Secretary to the Commissioners for regulating madhouses, delivered to the Committee a letter, addressed by him to a member of the Upper House of Parliament, on the occasion of a proposal for the amendment of the existing law, in which it is said, "The Commissioners propose to submit to your Lordship a very general view of the insufficiencies

of the Act in its present form, &c.—They deem it unnecessary to detain your Lordship with a detail of inaccuracies of verbal expressions in the Act, although such are numerous, and productive of much inconvenience in the execution of it.—That various defects in the provisions of the Act generally do exist, appears from the minutes of the commissioners—the necessity for their frequent recourse to legal advice—and the publications of the proceedings of courts of law. Your Lordship's recent information in the county of Wilts is one proof, among many, that similar defects are felt in the more distant counties of England.—That the verbal expression of those provisions is not in all instances clearly made, may be illustrated by an opinion of the late Lord Kenyon in 1782, which begins thus;—‘I cannot give a receipt to provide for the inaccuracies of an ill-penned law.’”

In endeavouring to form an estimate of the information which the labours of this Committee have furnished to the legislature, the imperfections of the existing law must be regarded as the article by far the most important. It is true the public had not, by the benefit of the press, been left without intelligence on the subject so long. The more remarkable deficiencies of the existing provisions were well pointed out some years ago, in a valuable little tract by Mr. Parkinson of Hoxton. But it is certain that the evils left without a remedy by the law had not till now been pressed upon the attention of the legislature with that publicity and force which, on certain subjects, appear to be necessary to put it in action. This being accomplished, we may reasonably hope that the proper consequences will ensue.

In one respect the information which the Committee have collected is a source of high and immediate satisfaction. In the greater part of the houses, or establishments, appropriated for the custody of the insane, the treatment which they have experienced is fully proved to have been better, and that really to a singular degree, than under the remarkable imperfection of the provisions for securing goodness of treatment, could, *a priori*, have been expected.

The most enormous, by far, of the instances of abuse and misconduct have been found, not in the private, but the public establishments, or hospitals for the insane.

On the state of the private houses, Mr. Wakefield, a gentleman whose active philanthropy has led him to a close inspection of most of the receptacles in England for the insane, appears, in the Committee's minutes of evidence, to have spoken as follows: “In closing the account which I have given of houses of this sort, I beg to say, that the general feeling which I have upon the subject, is—that there is great merit due to many indi-

viduals, for the humanity which they exercise to the unfortunate persons under their care; and that I should be very much hurt, if any observation, which I made, in any place, should tend to injure the character or the business of a keeper of a madhouse."

With respect to all classes of patients, but with respect to the poorest in particular, a judgment can be formed of the conduct of the owner of the asylum, only upon a comparison of the accommodation which he affords with the pay which he receives. This material point, the authors of the questions put to the witnesses appear sometimes to have been in some danger of overlooking. If this error in any degree taints the legislative enactment; if it requires the keepers of houses for the insane to do more for the poor than what the pay allowed for them will afford, the effect will be, that these keepers must refuse to admit the poor, who, in that case, must either be allowed to wander dangerously and wretchedly about the country, or be consigned to the inhumane treatment which they have hitherto experienced in workhouses and in gaols.

On some questions, which seemed to imply a demand for more accommodations to the poorer class of patients than the money paid for them would allow, Dr. Powell, as Secretary to the Commissioners, observed; "When we are told a man has this sort of accommodation, we may say, and do say, it is bad, it is not the accommodation he ought to have: but when the keeper tells us, I am allowed but ten shillings a week for every thing I do for this man, we must be satisfied.—They have told us, they cannot afford to do more: and I have rather wondered they have done so much."—This is spoken generally; it is given as the average character of the houses visited by the Committee of the College of Physicians; and, most undoubtedly, it is high praise.

Dr. Latham, one of the Commissioners, or visiting physicians, says, "It always struck us, that there were more patients confined in a given space than there ought to be. And the observation which the keepers made in reply, is this, That really the sum which they receive is so very trifling, that they cannot afford better accommodation.—One may think the paupers rather more crowded than is right; but the sum paid for this accommodation is, in truth, so very trifling, that you cannot expect the same accommodation for the paupers as for those that pay better.—I consider that all the madhouses under the present regime are more calculated for places of confinement than places of cure."—To the question, "Are you of opinion, if more attention were paid to the cure of patients, that it might not in some instances succeed?" He answered, "My opinion is, it certainly would. In answering that question I am far from imputing blame to the keepers of the madhouses. I rather impute blame to the relatives of the

unfortunate people themselves; who shut them up there, in order that they may be out of the way. In nine cases out of ten, that is the fact; they get them away from their family into safe keeping. I have no hesitation in saying that, in nine cases out of ten, there is very little attention paid on the part of their relations to those that are confined. And, if they were placed in proper situations, where their minds could be attended to, and where they could have a little more bodily exercise, they might more frequently be relieved."

This fact, of the little regard which is paid to the feelings of insane relatives, in the present state of the civilization and morality of our own country—a fact extending to so great a proportion as nine in ten, is worthy of the attention both of the statesman and the philosopher. A gentleman, who gave evidence before the Committee with much appearance of intelligence and humanity, Mr. Thomas Bakewell, the keeper of a house for the reception of insane persons at Spring Vale, in Staffordshire, confirms the existence of the fact by some striking particulars: "I am convinced that a lady of fashion and fortune withheld the means of cure from an elder sister, in consequence of expense; though that sister's own income was more than sufficient to procure the best means the country afforded. She is now kept at an obscure place, at a very small expense, and under very improper treatment, as I conceive.—I knew an instance of a person of very respectable family, who became insane soon after giving birth to a son. Such cases are generally supposed easy of recovery, as merely a temporary irritation. She was packed up into a back garret, where she was coarsely fed, and coarsely clothed, while the husband enjoyed every luxury that money could purchase, in the house below; till that son became of age and had her released. I know another family, who have kept a brother for seven years in confinement, without any means of recovery, for the sake, as I fully believe, of his property, though they are all in opulent circumstances. I have known an instance of a son very evidently taking measures to prevent the recovery of his father;—and have known several instances of people in opulence taking measures to prevent the recovery of their own brothers. I have seen evident proofs of vexation and disappointment in a wife, on the unexpected recovery of her husband; the same in a husband, on the unexpected recovery of his wife; and in a mother on the unexpected recovery of a son. I have now in the house a woman, who has been confined in a dark garret, without the comforts of a fire, for the best part of twenty years: her husband confessed to me that he had not seen her for many years: the servant told me, that nobody saw her

but herself; and she only to take her food, and take away the necessaries: the woman was perfectly inoffensive."

If the Committee had put questions to ascertain a fact, of which they seem not to have been aware; to ascertain, how very large a proportion of the patients in St. Luke's, a public charity, an asylum maintained by subscription, intended solely for the reception of people too poor to pay for themselves, and where all are alike treated as paupers, are not poor, but the relatives of persons in comparative affluence, they would have met with a most remarkable proof, at once, of the shameless disposition to prey upon every description of public property, which distinguishes our age and country, and of the gross insensibility which, on the slightest temptations, one set of relatives display to the feelings of another.

The tendency to good treatment of the helpless people under their care, which is found to distinguish generally the keepers of private madhouses, is secured by an important circumstance, which forms a characteristic difference between their situation, and that of the public institutions maintained by charity. The prosperity of keepers of private madhouses depends upon the satisfaction which they give; and the satisfaction which they give must in general be proportionate to the goodness of their conduct. They, in truth, are subject to the inspection of the public, upon a pretty extensive scale; for not only the relatives of the patients are incessantly visiting, some of whom are really and intensely interested in the welfare of the patients to whom they belong; but those of the patients themselves who are there for a season, and go away cured, are most efficient witnesses and reporters of the conduct which is pursued. In the case of the keepers of private madhouses, the public have all the benefit of competition, the effects of which are so remarkable, that whenever it is enabled fully and freely to operate, few evils arising from abuse exist. In the case of this class of the houses for the insane, the chief danger against which the act would have to provide, would be that of collusion between the keeper and the relatives of the patients, when the intentions of those relatives happen not to be good. Now, in this case, the difficulty is not great; for the principal dangers of abuse appear to be two only—that persons may be confined who ought not to be; secondly, that they may be confined at an expense, at which comforts, or the more expensive means of cure cannot be afforded.

The case of the public and charitable asylums is essentially and strikingly different. The interests of the managers in these establishments have little, if any, dependence upon the goodness of their conduct; as their emoluments are not likely to be greater,

when their conduct is good, than when it is bad, when the persons under their care are comfortable, than when they are lamentably otherwise. One thing which they may be expected to do pretty universally is—to consult their own ease; even where they have not any grosser motives to misconduct. But this motive is in very many cases, and in this especially, capable of producing almost all the effects which result from the most wicked motives. It produces neglect with all its fatal consequences; and it is the great cause of cruelty, even in its most active and abominable shapes. As to neglect, in what manner that proceeds from the love of ease, it requires no illustration to make appear. But in what manner is it that cruelty to a madman is chiefly shown? Is it not in the severity of his confinement? in the chains and dungeons in which he is held? Now the temptation to unnecessary restraint, upon a man who, requiring to be looked after when he has a certain degree of liberty, needs no looking after where he is under a certain degree of confinement,—the unceasing, the powerful temptation to keep him under that degree of confinement is, *the love of ease*. To constancy of undue confinement add, what is also derived from the love of ease, constancy of neglect when under that confinement, and you have the source of almost all the atrocities, to which the management of madhouses is liable. Even to blows, when that enormity is committed, the keeper is more frequently provoked by some invasion of his ease, than by all other causes taken together.

To this motive, then, which appears—when the affair is seen to the bottom—to be the grand source of misconduct in madhouses, the interest of the owners, acting under the incitement of competition, affords in the case of the private houses a great and probably the best possible antidote. In the case of the great public institutions, this antidote is altogether wanting; and there is hardly any thing whatsoever to supply its place.

If we look to pecuniary corruption, which is the only other motive, of which in producing misconduct in madhouses the influence will be supposed to be great, no place is left for it in the case of private houses; the profits of which, competition is quite sure to reduce to their lowest possible terms;—or, which is the same thing in other words, it is quite competent to ensure to the patients the full amount of all the accommodations which the pay they bring with them can afford.—That, of public charities on the other hand, the constitution is but too apt to afford ample scope for pecuniary corruption, our countrymen have extensive experience. And in the charitable institutions for the reception of the insane, we shall not find this very feeble at work among

the causes of the misconduct which the labours of this Committee have happily brought to light.

Of the parts of their inquiry, that which to a far greater extent than any other has occupied the attention of the Committee, is the misconduct displayed in two of the great public charities for the benefit of the insane, the Lunatic Asylum at York, and Bethlem Hospital in London. We shall endeavour to give our readers some idea of the abuses which have there prevailed; and it is to be lamented, that the limits within which we are confined, allow it to be given very incompletely.

The Committee began their inquiries with the examination of Godfrey Higgins, Esq. a Governor of the York Asylum, and a Magistrate of the West Riding of Yorkshire. This gentleman had been instrumental in exciting a new degree of attention to the state of the York Lunatic Asylum; and obtained the appointment of a Committee of investigation. After this Committee had finished their inquiries, and made their report, Mr. Higgins visited the Asylum. The Committee ask him

“In what condition did you find the Asylum when you visited it in the Spring Assize week of 1814?—Having suspicions in my mind that there were some parts of that Asylum which had not been seen, I went early in the morning, determined to examine every place. After ordering a great number of doors to be opened, I came to one which was in a retired situation in the kitchen apartments, and which was almost hid by the opening of a door in the passage; I ordered this door to be opened: the keepers hesitated, and said, the apartment belonged to the women, and they had not the key. I ordered them to get the key, but it was said to be mislaid, and not to be found at the moment. Upon this I grew angry, and told them, I insisted upon its being found, and that if they would not find it, I could find a key at the kitchen fire-side, namely, the poker: upon that the key was immediately brought. When the door was opened, I went into the passage, and I found four cells, I think, of about eight feet square, in a very horrid and filthy situation: the straw appeared to be almost saturated with urine and excrement; there was some bedding laid upon the straw in one cell, in the others only loose straw. A man (a keeper) was in the passage doing something, but what I do not know; the walls were daubed with excrement; the air holes, of which there was one in each cell, were partly filled with it; in one cell there were two pewter chamber-pots loose. I asked the keeper, if these cells were inhabited by the patients? and was told they were at night. I then desired him to take me up stairs, and show me the place of the women who came out of those cells that morning. I then went up stairs, and he showed me into a room, which I caused him to measure, and the size of which he told me was twelve feet by seven feet ten inches, and in which there were thirteen women, who he told me had all come out of those cells that morning.

"Were they pauper women?—I do not know; I was afraid that afterwards he should deny that, and therefore I went in and said to him, "Now, Sir, clap your hand upon the head of this woman," and I did so too; and I said, "Is this one of the very women that were in those cells last night," and he said she was. I became very sick, and could not remain longer in the room, I vomited. In the course of an hour and a half after this I procured Colonel Cooke of Owston, and John Cooke, Esquire, of Cam's Mount, to examine those cells; they had come to attend a special meeting which I had caused to be called that day at twelve o'clock. Whilst I was standing at the door of the cells waiting for the key, a young woman ran past me, amongst the men servants, decently dressed; I asked who she was, and was told by Atkinson, that she was a female patient of respectable connections. At a special meeting of the governors which I had caused to be called, I told them what I had seen, and I asked Atkinson the apothecary, in their presence, if what I had said was not correctly true; and I told him, if he intended to deny any part of it, he must do it then; he bowed his assent, and acknowledged what I said was true. I then desired the governors to come with me to see those cells; and then I discovered, for the first time, that the cells were unknown to the governors: several of the Committee, which consisted of fifteen, told me they had never seen them; that they had gone round the house with his Grace the Archbishop of York; that they had understood they were to see the whole house, and these cells had not been shown to them. We went through the cells, and at that time they had been cleaned as much as they could in so short a space of time. I turned up the straw in one of them with my umbrella, and pointed out to the gentlemen the chain and handcuff which were then concealed beneath the straw, and which I then perceived had been fixed into a board newly put down in the floor. I afterwards inquired of one of the committee of five, who had been appointed to afford any temporary accommodations which they could for a moderate sum of money to the patients, if those cells had been shown to that Committee, and I was told they had not. Before I saw these cells I had been repeatedly told by Atkinson the apothecary, and the keepers, that I had seen the whole house that was occupied by patients. I afterwards was told by a professional man, Mr. Pritchett, that he had heard Mr. Watson the architect ask one of the keepers what those places were: Mr. Watson at that time was looking out of the staircase window, and he heard the keeper answer Mr. Watson, that they were cellars and other little offices. The day after my examination of these cells, I went again early in the morning to examine them, after I knew that the straw could have been used only one night; and I can positively say, from this examination, that the straw which I first found there, must have been in use a very considerable time. Early in the investigation which took place into this Institution, several gentlemen came forward to state, that they had examined the house on purpose to form a judgment of it, but though several of them were present when I stated the case of these cells, they did not state that they had seen them. When Colonel Cooke of Owston was in one of the cells, he tried to make marks or letters in the excrement remain-

ing upon the floor after it had been cleaned, and fresh straw put into it, which he did without any difficulty, and which he will be ready to state to the Committee if required. The day after I saw these cells, I went up into the apartments of the upper class of female patients, with one of the men-keepers as I should suppose, about thirty years of age, one of those who were dismissed in August; and I asked him, when at the door of the ward, if his key would not open those doors; I did not give him time to answer, but I seized the key from his hand, and with it opened the outer door of the ward, and then went and opened the bed-room doors of the upper class of female patients, and locked them again; I then gave him his key again; Mr. Samuel Tuke, a Quaker, of York, was standing by and saw me.

"Do you know of any unfit practices with respect to the female patients?—Yes; I have been informed they have been got with child; and I have now in my hand a copy of a warrant granted by Frederick L'Oste of the county of Lincoln, to apprehend James Backhouse the head keeper, who was charged with having got with child Elizabeth West a female pauper, sent to this Asylum by the overseers of the poor of the Township of Louth; the warrant appears to have been backed on the 17th of June 1797, by R. Metcalfe. I am informed that he was taken by the authority of this warrant to Louth, where Elizabeth West fathered the child upon him. Elizabeth West was admitted into the Asylum August the 17th 1796, was removed May the 8th 1797, and was delivered of a male child August the 19th 1797; the keeper Backhouse paid 30*l.* to the overseers of the poor of the parish of Louth, for the maintenance of the bastard; he paid it, by three instalments; it appears by the town books, that the overseers of the poor have made themselves debtors in these sums to the township: I am informed that Elizabeth West was a young woman of exceedingly good character before she went to the Asylum; and she is now a woman of exceedingly good character, and has been living some years in a respectable family. Some time after this the head keeper retired from this house; upon which occasion a piece of plate was voted to him as a mark of approbation of his conduct during a service of twenty-six years. I have not the most distant suspicion, that any one of the governors who voted for this piece of plate had any knowledge whatever of this transaction between Backhouse and West, except the physician Hunter.

"In what line of life is Backhouse at present?—He now keeps a private mad-house in York.

"Do you know of any case more recent, of the same nature?—Yes; the case of Dorothy Exilby of Kirby Malzeard; she was admitted February 8th 1801, she was discharged cured February 20th 1802, delivered of a male child the 21st of September 1802; the father of this child is said to have been one of the patients. I have heard also, and believe from the respectable authority from which I received it, that a woman in a superior situation in life, who was there as an insane patient, was got with child by some person within the house."

(Report, p. 1—3.)

The circumstance which first called the peculiar attention of

Mr. Higgins to the state of the York Asylum, was described to the public by himself at the time, and this statement we insert as containing more circumstances in fewer words, than the spoken account which he delivered to the Com. mittee.

"A few days previous to the 17th of April 1813, complaint was made to me by an old woman, that William Vicars, of Fishlake, had assaulted her, &c. in consequence of which I granted a warrant to apprehend him, and upon his being brought up, I found he was insane. He being a pauper, I ordered the overseer of the poor, Thomas Leach, to take proper measures for conveying him to the Asylum at York, to which place he was taken on the 17th of last April; and from which he was brought away on the 13th of last October. When I saw Vicars before he went, he appeared in good bodily health, no ways weak or emaciated.

"About a fortnight ago, application was made to me by Sarah the wife of William Vicars, for an order for more relief from the overseer of the poor. I summoned him to the Town Hall, in Doncaster, and upon inquiring into Vicars's situation, the following documents marked A B C D E, were sworn to be true by Sarah Vicars, and the overseer, Thomas Leach, in the presence of W. Wrightson, Esq. and myself:—

"A. Inventory of what clothes William Vicars took into the Asylum, and also of what he brought back with him.

"He took with him a good and nearly new blue coat, a new scarlet silk shag waistcoat, a pair of good velveteen breeches, a new down hat, cost 15s. two pair of blue stockings, never been mended, a pair of new shoes, two new blue and white striped shirts, a short velveteen jacket, another scarlet waistcoat, spotted with black, another pair of velveteen breeches, two neckerchiefs, one of silk, and one of cotton, two pocket-handkerchiefs, and two night-caps.

"He brought back with him, one short jacket and one waistcoat, two white shirts, two pair of stockings, an old hat, not the hat he took, and a pair of bad shoes: he has not brought back one article he took with him. *He has brought back the itch with him.*

SARAH
Her Mark.
VICKERS.

Bill paid by the Overseer.

York, July 5th, 1813.

B. W. VICARS,

Bought of JOHN HODGSON,

	£.	s.	d.
4½ yds dark cloth, 3s. 9d.	0	16	11
2½ yds stout cord, 3s. 9d.	0	9	5
4½ yds ditto cotton, 1s. 2d.	0	5	3
Pocketing for 3 coats.	0	1	10
3½ dozen buttons, 8d.	0	2	4
	<hr/>		
	£	1	15 9

Bill paid by the Overseer.

C.

MR. VICARS.

	£.	s.	d.
Shirts mended	0	1	6
7½ yds cloth	0	13	9
2 shirts made	0	2	9
2 pair stockings	0	6	0
	£1	4	0

Bill paid by the Overseer.

D.

The Overseers of Fishlake, Dr.

To the Governors of the York Lunatic Asylum,

OCTOBER 13th, 1813.

	£.	s.	d.
Board, &c. of Wm. Vickers, 4 weeks 3 days, 9s.	1	19	9
Letter 1s. 9d. Shaving 5d. Stamp, 2d.	0	2	4
Paid short.	0	0	6

Received, George Surr,	2	2	7
Allowing deposit	1	1	0

£1	1	7
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E. This is to certify that I was sent for, by Mr. Hopwood, of Thorning Hirst, on Thursday the 14th instant, to examine the state in which William Vicars, of Stainforth, was dismissed from the York Asylum. He had the itch very bad, was also extremely filthy, for I saw his wife not only comb several lice from his head, but take them from the folds of his shirt neck; his health was so much impaired, that he was not able to stand by himself; his legs were very much swelled, and one of them in a state of mortification. He is now much recovered, both in mind and health, by bark and a generous nourishing diet. Witness my hand this 29th day of October, 1813.

CHARLES MAPLES, Surgeon."

(Appendix to History, p. 6—8.)

We cannot afford to proceed with any more of the evidence of Mr. Higgins. The two specimens of abuse which we have selected, are, it is to be remembered, extreme cases. But the general state of the house is represented to be just such a state as one would expect to give birth to such instances, and altogether conformable with them.

The following testimony, as far as it goes, confirms the statement presented by Mr. Higgins.

Bryan Cooke, Esquire, called in, and Examined.

YOU are a Magistrate of the West Riding of the County of York?
—I am.

"Did you in March 1814, visit certain cells pointed out to you by Mr. Higgins, in the Lunatic Asylum at York?—I did.

"In what state did you find them?—I found them newly cleaned out, the stench was abominable; I turned over the new straw which had been put upon the floor, and the boards were wet; and I pressed my stick upon the floor to see whether it was impregnated with the moisture, and I could have marked any letter upon it in the remains of the filth. I should say it was hardly possible it could have been cleaned out for a considerable time; the floor was completely saturated with filth.

"Do you know any other particulars of the state of the Asylum at York?—*The general state of the Asylum was filthy in the extreme.*

"Have you read the statement made by Mr. Higgins, of the part which you took along with him, in the examination of the Lunatic Asylum?—I have.

"Are the statements there made, by Mr. Higgins, of your interference in the business, correct?—Perfectly so; I think it was in or about March 1814 there was a meeting at which I attended, and I was desired by one of the governors to go into one of the day-rooms; he said he had a person there that had formerly worked for him, and he wished to see him. I, together with a governor and Colonel John Cooke of Camps Mount, went into a day-room; there were about twelve men patients in it; upon opening the door my feelings were so offended, that I could hardly proceed from the stench; I retreated into the passage and was very near vomiting; Colonel John Cooke, who was with me, staid about two minutes longer in the day-room, and he assured me that he felt the nausea the whole day afterwards."

(Report, p. 9, 10.)

To these we must add another testimony, which has the great advantage of plenitude of detail, we mean the testimony of Mr. Jonathan Gray, of York, who in 1815 addressed to Mr. Wilberforce, and published with his name, a History of the York Lunatic Asylum. We consider this account, therefore, as the testimony of Mr. Gray, delivered, not before the Committee of the House of Commons, but a much more august tribunal, the British Nation, including both Houses of Parliament with all their Committees. We recommend it to a peculiar degree of attention; not only as it corroborates, which it does in a very extraordinary manner, the existence of the abuses to which Mr. Higgins and others gave testimony; but because it accounts for them, by producing the causes; and most usefully elucidates the sort of train into which the affairs of public charities are apt to fall, where somebody, either alone, or with others, finds there the means of opening to himself a channel of emolument; cases other people of trouble, by taking it upon himself; and making them a screen as exercising an inspection which they cease to perform, manages just as he pleases; that is, just as his ease and emoluments prescribe.

We shall endeavour, as far as it is possible, in a few words to exhibit a specimen of the sort of facts which it is the object of the publication to bring to light.

The York Lunatic Asylum originated in the commiseration felt by certain individuals in 1772, with the Archbishop at their head, "for the deplorable situation of many poor lunatics in that extensive county, having no other support but what a needy parent could bestow, or a thrifty parish officer provide." A subscription was raised to erect a building for the accommodation of such lunatics as were "either parish poor, or belonging to distressed or indigent families." Such was the primary intention of this charitable institution; and such was the purpose for the accomplishment of which the original subscribers contributed their money. It was also declared in the advertisements, by which subscriptions were solicited, that whatever surplus, after the expence of building, should happily exist, should be placed out at interest, "and the produce applied towards the relief of parishes, and private persons in indigent circumstances sending patients."

All the money subscribed was expended in buildings. In the year 1778 Lady Gower, and other ladies,—that the original object of the institution, the relief of persons unable to pay, might not be frustrated,—made liberal donations, under express condition that the money should be applied "for the relief of patients only." This money was vested in the public funds, under the title of the *reduction-fund*, and the interest employed to reduce the payments of poor persons not receiving parochial relief."

The sum was small; and as indigent relatives were unable, and parishes commonly unwilling to afford the expense of maintenance in the Asylum, the number of patients continued to be small. This, in 1784, led to an important innovation;—to admit a proportion of more opulent patients, by whose higher payments "the means might be created of relieving the necessitous."

A Committee was formed to fix the rates, of whom the physician, Dr. Hunter, was one. Hitherto, he had given to the charity his attendance gratis. It was agreed that he should take fees from the new or opulent class of patients.

Dr. Hunter had only enjoyed this privilege about two years, when he recommended it to the governors to give the physician a salary of 200*l.* per annum, in lieu of this species of remuneration. Some of the reasons by which he supported this recommendation are highly worthy of attention. "This salary," he observed, "will attach him to the Asylum; and prevent his establishing a private house of confinement, which would evidently counteract the design of the original foundation of the Asylum."

We mean hereafter to request the particular attention of the reader to the evils which spring from allowing the principal officers of public madhouses to have private madhouses of their own. At present what is worthy of notice is, the strength of the declaration of Dr. Hunter, and the extent which he ascribes to the ruinous consequences of so unhappy a conjunction.

Another reason which the Doctor adduced was expressed in the following words: "Taking fees, at the discretion of the attending physician, may, at a future period, be attended with bad consequences."

Notwithstanding this recommendation, the old practice was confirmed, after a short trial of the new; and the Doctor was left to draw his own emoluments out of the patients.

One immediate consequence of this regulation is obvious,—that the physician had now a strong motive to fill the house, if possible, with opulent patients, to the exclusion of the poor, and of course the frustration of the original intention of the charity. The question is, if he had any check to prevent him.

At first, as we have seen, a Committee was appointed for managing the admission of the opulent patients. "After three or four years," says Mr. Gray, "we cease to hear of any Committee." The easiest mode for the Committee was, to let the Doctor, who best understood the business, manage it for them.

"To what number," says the History, "the opulent class was originally restricted does not appear—it certainly was limited, but a blot of ink has obliterated the word in the Order-Book."

When Mr. Gray quotes the words of the original advertisements, which declare the relief of the poor to be the object of the institution, he adds, "This is a quotation, verbatim, from the Order-Book; but such pains have been taken to obliterate it, that there was great difficulty in decyphering the passage."

When patients were first admitted in the Asylum at York, the following rule was established: "No keeper or hired servant of the Asylum to accept any money, or other gratuity, for his or her own use, on the behalf of any patient, on any account whatever." On the importance of this regulation we mean hereafter to lay the greatest stress; and earnestly to recommend it to the attention of those members of the legislature who may be chiefly instrumental in framing the provisions of a new enactment.

After the rule for the admission of opulent patients, "this salutary regulation," says our History, "was presently repealed. It had been ordered that a board should be put up in the hall, to prohibit any money being given. But on the 7th of July 1785, it was resolved that this order, and the proceedings thereon, had been rescinded."

In the year 1788 the Rev. Mr. Mason, the celebrated poet, and Precentor of York, together with Dr. Burgh and others, were of opinion, that the absorption of all the powers of government relating to the institution, in the hands of the physician, had already led to abuse; that it "had converted a public charity into an hotel for the reception of persons of condition only;" that the sum applied to the relief of the poor from the pay of the affluent bore no proportion to its actual amount; and that the Doctor must appropriate the surplus to his own use. Mr. Mason gave his thoughts to the public, under the title of "*Animadversions on the present Government of the York Lunatic Asylum.*"

What was the consequence of the charges? Was public inquiry instituted; and were they by public scrutiny shown to be false? A very different course was pursued. "The Doctor," says our History, "had the address to persuade the governors that these objections arose not from pure or charitable motives, but from personal hostility." The Governors accordingly settled all complaints by voting that the Doctor's conduct was most meritorious.

In the face of his letter, in which were declared the mischievous consequences to the Asylum if its physician should open a private house of confinement, the Doctor advertised in the newspapers, in 1790, a "house of retirement for persons of condition only;" without any farther opposition on the part of the Governors, than a proposal by Mr. Mason, that the assertion which still continued to be made in the quarterly advertisements, in the following words: viz. "that this institution is intended to lessen the number of private madhouses," should in future be omitted. But the motion was negatived.

Mr. Mason and his friends persevered in their endeavours to introduce some reform into the government of the charity, till 1794. They were baffled, however, in all their attempts; and the year 1794, says our History, "is the latest period in which we hear of any opposition to the plans of Dr. Hunter. It is also the latest period in which we hear of visitors. From 1782 to 1794 visitors have been occasionally appointed. *Dr. Hunter, however, being usually one.* From the period that the Governors of the Asylum ceased to be watched, the very name of visitation appears to have been unheard of."

"In 1798," says the History, "Dr. Hunter was induced to wish for an assistant in the superintendence of the Asylum, and of his *various* private plans of confinement for lunatics."—In this, one thing only is very remarkable, viz. the pretensions of the Doctor. To obviate "any inconvenience which might arise

from his death or retirement," he thought it desirable to communicate his knowledge to some medical gentleman. Dr. Best was chosen as the favoured pupil, and introduced into the Asylum, with the approbation of the Governors. In a letter addressed on this occasion to the apothecary of the Asylum, and inserted by direction of the Governors in the order-book, the Doctor says, "To Dr. Best I mean to communicate all the knowledge I have gained from the experience of twenty-five years. And farther, to assist his studies *in this obscure branch of medicine*, I mean freely to disclose to him the manner of preparing the different medicines, so successfully made use of at the Asylum, and of which the composition is unknown to every person but myself."

The author of the history treats this as arrant quackery. And we do agree with him that the doctrine of a nostrum, and a secret, delivered in this manner, has all the appearance of quackery. There is but one alternative; it was either quackery, or the very delirium of ignorance and self-conceit. In the first place, as fewer cures were performed in the Asylum than almost any where else, the Doctor's practice had, according to that evidence, nothing to recommend it. In the next place, lunacy, instead of being *an obscure part of medicine*, is, more properly speaking, no part of medicine at all. As to his drugs, "of which the composition was unknown to every person but himself," it is found by the most ample experience, that the bodily health of the insane is to be treated on very nearly the same principles as that of other people; and as to the mental disease, that druging it is of very little service.

Things proceeding in the established train, we pass the intermediate circumstances till the death of Dr. Hunter, and the appointment of Dr. Best as sole physician, in 1809. This undoubtedly was the time to introduce reforms, if tenderness to Dr. Hunter had made the Governors averse to withdraw from him any of the powers with which he had been entrusted. Was it used for this purpose? Very far from it. The Asylum was delivered over, or rather abandoned to Dr. Best, in as naked and defenceless a condition as it was held by his predecessor. After a time, an effort seems to have been made to render things worse. In 1813 a rule was adopted, on the proposition of Dr. Best, "that no person should be allowed to visit any of the patients, without a special written order of admission signed by the physician." This was to put it in the power of the physician to exclude, still more effectually, any ray of light which might display to the public the interior of the Asylum. It went to exclude even the Governors of the Asylum, without the express permission of the Doctor. This, however, was afterwards

thought rather too much; and the wording of the rule was so altered, as to let in the Governors.

“Dr. Best,” says the History, “had now obtained an absolute dominion. Every thing was under his controul. Official visitation had ceased; and all intrusive observation was shut out. The Governors had confidence in the physician; and, except Governors, no persons could enter the Asylum without his permission. No guards were placed against abuses; and every avenue to reform seemed now closed.”

In 1813, Mr. Samuel Tuke published his “Description of the Retreat;” the celebrated work, the title of which we have placed among others at the head of this article. This Institution originated in a refusal, in 1791, to permit the friends of a female Quaker to visit her in the Asylum. It was said that she was not fit to be seen; and shortly after, a statement was made of her death. This circumstance suggested to the Quakers about York the propriety of forming an establishment for persons of their own persuasion; and a house was built to which they gave the name of the “Retreat.” This Institution has been conducted, from the beginning, upon the principle, that the utmost practicable degree of gentleness, tenderness, and attention to the comforts and feelings of the patients, was, in the first place, due to them as human beings; and, in the next place, was infinitely the most promising means of effecting their recovery. The object of the work of Mr. Tuke was to describe the system of management which had been pursued in the Retreat; to make known the success which had attended it; and to point out, more distinctly than had ever yet been done, the principle upon which that management was founded (the principle of gentleness, and of regard to the feelings of the patients), as the grand principle which ought to regulate the management of every establishment of the kind. The service which Mr. Tuke proposed to render to the public by his book was assuredly of importance, and his book has performed it well. We do not say that the management at the Retreat, though in the present state of the practice among the best, cannot be surpassed,—that it has not been equalled, and often approached, in private houses. But this we do say, that no writer before Mr. Tuke had pointed out the principle of gentleness and attention to comforts as the governing principle in the management of the insane; and that he, in having pointed this out as the governing principle, has rendered a service to humanity of the greatest importance. It is this characteristic circumstance which will render the publication of his book an era in the history of the treatment of this calamity. The book has already met with great, and almost universal attention. It has, by the nation, been much more than

approved, it has been applauded, and admired. One thing we may venture to say, that it was hardly possible for a book to be written in a manner less calculated to give offence to any body. There was little criticism passed upon other institutions; and besides stating the facts which had taken place in the Retreat, little more was done than to hold up to view the importance of the great principle which it was the object of the book to recommend.

Yet this book, such as it is, gave prodigious offence. It has been regarded as a libel upon the Asylum, and an attack upon it has appeared in the newspapers. The letter, as it is given in a Note to Mr. Gray's History, is not only a curiosity, but so instructive, that we cannot forbear inserting it here.

“ TO THE EDITOR OF THE YORK HERALD.

Sir,

When a vessel or a fort becomes the subject of attack, it matters not whether hostilities be carried on by storming, boarding, grape or shells, or by sapping, mining, catamaran, or torpedo. The intended effect is the same, and the same necessity exists for active defence. In like manner, when an attempt is made to injure the reputation and interests of any public body, or private individual, it is of little moment to the assailed party whether the measure be accomplished by open libel, or masked insinuation. If no means of defence are employed, the mischief may be equal from either method, and it is, therefore, equally incumbent on the object of either species of attack to notice and repel it.

The following brief statement will illustrate these remarks:—

In an account of the Quakers' Retreat for Lunatics near York, published a short time ago, some highly indecorous and injurious insinuations were thrown out against other establishments for the same purpose, the intended application of which no one could misunderstand, and which were as strikingly illiberal, as they were grossly unfounded. To this attack it was not thought necessary to reply; but a printed hand-bill having been recently received, which informs its readers in terms characteristic of similar productions, that the physician to the Quakers' Retreat has formed an establishment for the reception of persons afflicted with insanity, “ with a view to introduce, on a small scale, the mild methods of treatment in use at that Institution,” it would be an act of culpable supineness to allow it to pass by without some degree of notice. It must be obvious to every one, that the words of this advertisement (which may be considered in the light of a *torpedo*) were intended to impose a belief on its readers, that methods of treatment of an *opposite* description were employed at the other establishments for insane persons in York and its vicinity; an insinuation in itself as disingenuous, and as totally destitute of foundation, as the *manner* of making it is perfectly unprofessional, and palpably incorrect.

The object of this letter being merely to expose these proceedings, from a sense of duty to others, and of justice to the Writer's self, all feelings of personal animosity are utterly disclaimed; at the same time, should any one be desirous of ascertaining your Correspondent's name, which it is not thought necessary to obtrude upon the public, it may be easily known by inquiry at your office.

I am, Sir, &c.

EVIGILATOR."

YORK, Sept. 23, 1813.

Though this letter, as the reader perceives, affords no little matter for criticism, we shall remark upon nothing but the spirit of it. The circumstance which most peculiarly and eminently deserves the reader's attention is—the frank declaration, that to recommend gentleness in the management of insane patients was to libel the York Asylum; “to throw out injurious insinuations, which no one could misunderstand.” It is indeed asserted that such insinuations were undeserved; but this assertion its author himself contradicts. If the treatment in the Asylum was mild, why was the Doctor afraid of a book which recommended mildness? If it was mild, the public either knew it, or it did not know it. If it knew it, to recommend mildness was to recommend the Asylum. If it did not know it, why did not Dr. Best, instead of attacking Mr. Tuke's book, himself write a similar one, describing the mild practices of the Asylum, and inviting the public, like Mr. Tuke, to verify his account by inspection? —We particularly beg the reader's attention to a general rule, of which this is only a particular verification;—that every thing bad, in any kind of institution, always looks upon itself as libelled by the description of the opposite good; and they who profit by that which is bad always complain of being injured by those who try to make known that which is good.

In the same year, 1813, happened the case of Vicars, of which the publication by Mr. Higgins gave energy to the attention which the public, it seems, were beginning to bestow upon the management of the Asylum. The Governors met in their Quarterly Court: an inquiry could not be avoided: and how was it performed?—The servants of the house, the persons accused, were brought in; and asked if they were guilty. They all denied it. Upon this, the point was clear; no guilt existed. And an advertisement was published in the newspapers, affirming that while “the said William Vicars remained in the Asylum he was treated with all possible care, attention, and humanity.” Mr. Gray expressly affirms, that, besides the servants, no evidence whatever was called for, nor was any minute committed to writing of what they deposed.

“The publication,” says our History, “of the resolutions

upon the case of Vicars, was evidently intended to quiet the public mind, and to white-wash the Institution—the effect produced, however, was directly the reverse.” Some energetic individuals interfered, and insisted upon the formation of a Committee of investigation. The motion was violently opposed; but being supported by the Archbishop, was finally carried.

It was proposed that a general inquiry into the rules and management should be instituted by this Committee; but this, for the time, was over-ruled, and its labours were restricted to an investigation of the individual cases of abuse which Mr. Higgins had adduced. For the circumstances of these, the evidence taken, and the decisions pronounced, we must reluctantly content ourselves with a reference to the Appendix of the History, which the curious reader will find it worth his while to consult.

One incident is too important to be omitted. In a note, which the author subjoins to the report of the first of the cases, he says that when two of the servants of the house, who had been examined, were about to give their oath (the mode of examination was, first to question the witnesses, and, after their evidence was given, to ask them to confirm it by oath), “the Archbishop of York observed, that if it was intended to administer an oath to them, he must leave the room; as he was convinced, both from the manner of those witnesses, and the improbability of their statement, that they were asserting what was untrue. It was then proposed, and agreed, that the administration of an oath should in future be wholly discontinued.”

On the 28th of December, 1813, the Asylum was discovered to be on fire; and one wing of the house was burnt down. The following account of that event is given in Mr. Higgins's evidence before the House of Commons Committee:

“How long is it since the Asylum was burnt?—A few days after the court of governors at York had ordered a general investigation, by a committee, into the rules and management of the Institution (which was about last January twelvemonth), the building was found to be on fire.

Did any investigation take place how it came to be on fire?—Yes; a general meeting took place immediately on the spur of the occasion, and a committee of five gentlemen was appointed; and they made a report a few weeks afterwards, that they believed four patients had been burnt.

Do you believe more than four people were burnt?—I can hardly state a decisive opinion upon that subject; only it appears by the report of the committee, that several patients had been admitted into the house, of whom no account whatever can be given.

You mean by that, that they are not now existing in the house, and

they can produce no proof of their being discharged?—Yes; viz. Margaret Smith, admitted February 17th 1787; Catherine St. Clair, admitted October 16th 1790; D. Myson, admitted April 20th 1796; D. Thackwray, admitted July 20th 1796; and Mrs. Parke, admitted August 19th 1797.

At what time of the day or night did the fire break out?—At about eight o'clock in the evening." (Report, p. 6.)

The formation of a new Committee, to inquire into rules and management, was at last obtained. The following curious fact appeared :

"For the purpose of drawing out an average of the number of patients of each class, Mr. Surr, the steward, was desired to send to the house of a member of the Committee, his account books for the *four quarters of the year 1813*. Four quarterly books were in consequence sent, but in selecting these, Mr. Surr had unintentionally occasioned a remarkable discovery. *Three* of the books sent were the steward's accounts with the Governors for the 2d, 3d, and 4th quarters of the year—the *fourth* book—sent instead of that for the *first* quarter, proved to be *another account* for the second quarter of the year. There was, therefore, no account for the *first*, but *two* accounts for the *second* quarter, both professing to contain the weekly payments of the patients. Upon a comparison of the two books for the same quarter, it was found, that in the book which appeared to have been sent by mistake, Mr. Surr had entered one set of patients at 15s.—another set at 12s.—and a third set at 10s. per week. In the *other* book, the *very same patients* were entered as follows:—Those who paid 15s. were set down as paying *eleven shillings*; those who paid 12s. as paying *ten shillings*; those who paid 10s. as paying *nine shillings*. In Mr. Surr's accounts with the Governors he only gave credit for the smaller sum—the book sent by mistake, therefore, did not tally with the steward's accounts with the Governors—on the contrary, it proved, that a portion of the payments from three classes of the patients, amounting to no less a sum than 65*l.* 13*s.* for a quarter, or 262*l.* 12*s.* per ann. had never been brought to account. On inquiry, it appeared, that this sum was paid over by the Steward to the Physician." (History, p. 45.)

The annual receipts of the physician, paying himself in this manner, are thus stated by the author of the History :

Sixteen patients at a guinea and a half per week, deducting fourteen shilling paid over to the charity—leaves	£.	s.	d.
The payments to the physician from the three middle classes amount to.	728	0	0
Fees on admission.	262	12	0
	30	0	0

Per annum £1020 12 0

(History, p. 51.)

We can advert to but a few of the curious particulars which the inquiries of the Committee brought to light.—An advertisement was annually published in the newspapers, under the direction of the apothecary, in which the number of admissions, cures, deaths, &c. was inserted. In this the number of deaths was habitually falsified, a portion being taken away from the amount of the deaths, and added to that of the cures. “I asked the apothecary,” says Mr. Higgins, “who made out these accounts; and he told me that he did; but that it was his practice to send them to the physician and to the steward for examination previous to their publication.”

In consequence of the inquiry, visitors, after a lapse of twenty-eight years, were appointed. They discovered the existence of an old rule, that the steward should not send bills of charges to the friends of the patients, till signed by the visitors. When the obedience of the old steward to this rule was demanded, he plainly told the visitors he would not pay it obedience. It impeached his honour.

At a meeting of Governors, which was held to consider some new rules which were proposed by the Committee of inquiry, Earl Fitzwilliam expressed great surprise at learning from that Committee’s report, that the highest sum paid to the institution by any patient was only fourteen shillings per week, when it was known there were in the Asylum persons who paid much more. “These,” says our History, “it was answered, were Dr. Best’s private patients, for whom he received what he thought fit; and paid the house only fourteen shillings. Earl Fitzwilliam declared his astonishment. He had been a governor for a long period of years, and regularly attended the annual meetings; but he never before heard of any private patients of the physician.”

The following is a fact of too much importance not to be produced:

“The most extraordinary circumstance reported by the Committee, as connected with the old system, was the conduct of Mr. Surr, the late steward. The Committee being in want of his quarterly books of account as to the patients, on the Monday before the Quarterly Court, Mr. Pyemont, the new steward, was dispatched to apply to Mr. Surr for these books—he returned twice without them—Mr. Surr did not know what books the Committee wanted. The Committee waited on him in person. He peremptorily refused to deliver them up, or to give any account of them. The Committee, therefore, reported to the Quarterly Court, that they conceived these books to be the property of the Institution, and submitted that Mr. Surr should be required to deliver them up. In consequence of this report of the Committee, Mr. Brook, the treasurer, was deputed by the Quarterly Court to demand the books—he returned with an answer, that Mr. Surr, after the Com-

mittee left him on Monday night, had, *in a moment of irritation*, BURN'T THE WHOLE OF THE BOOKS—except the book for the quarter just expiring.

“The following resolution was then passed :

“That the conduct of Mr. Surr, in withholding from the Committee several account books belonging to this Institution, and destroying them, deserves the severest reprehension of this Court, and is a most ungrateful return for the indulgence shown him by the last Annual Court, in allowing him to reside in the steward's house until the 6th of April next.”

“A no less extraordinary circumstance occurred at the next meeting of the Committee, sufficiently proving that if the burning of the books really took place, it was not a sally of passion but a deliberate act of selection. Mr. Surr produced to the Committee those quarterly books which tally with his accounts, and are so contrived, that whilst the physician was receiving considerable sums out of the weekly payments of the patients, he does not appear to receive a single shilling—the other set of books, which would have disclosed the steward's actual receipts, he still declared he had destroyed.” (History, p. 89, 90.)

Mr. Gray sums up his account of the York Lunatic Asylum in the following words :

“In the Asylum Investigations, CONCEALMENT appears at every step of our progress: 365 patients have died—the number is advertised 221. A patient disappears, and is never more heard of,—he is said to be ‘REMOVED.’ A patient is *killed*—his body is hurried away to prevent an inquest. He is *cured*, but it is by some medicine, the composition of which is known only to the Doctor. The public cry out, that a patient has been neglected; there is a *levy en masse* of respectable Governors to quell the disturbance, and to certify that the patient has been treated ‘with *all possible care, attention, and humanity*.’ A Committee of Investigation desires to be shown the house; certain cells ‘in an extreme state of filth and neglect’ are omitted to be pointed out to them. The Governors examine the accounts; there are considerable sums, of which neither the receipt nor the application appears. They inspect the Physician's Report;—it only aids the concealment. The steward's books are inquired for;—in a moment of irritation he selects for the flames such of them as he thought it not adviseable to produce. And yet every circumstance of concealment is imputed by some to mere accident; and every attempt to tear off the mask, and exhibit the Asylum in its true character, is stigmatized as a libel, or an indelicate disclosure!” (History, p. 90, 91.)

The effect of the inquiries was, that all the servants and officers of the house were dismissed, except the Doctor. He alone was retained. This was celebrated, in his behalf, as a complete victory, and triumph was performed. The public were congratulated in the newspapers on the result of the inquiry, by which it had appeared, that “the conduct of the physician had been peculiarly correct.” In cool and impartial judgment, however, it

must appear that the Doctor was condemned in the condemnation of the servants, who were made the scape-goats to carry the sins of the establishment into the wilderness. If the conduct of the servants and other officers had been allowed to be habitually bad, the doctor alone was to blame, who possessed consigned to him all the powers of government in the Institution, and was, therefore, justly responsible for every thing which occurred. Mr. Higgins, in giving his evidence before the House of Commons Committee, having been asked, was there any committee or visitors who looked after the affairs of the asylum, answered—"No; the physician had for many years past been the sole physician, sole visitor, and sole committee, and had the whole management of the Institution." And this testimony is confirmed, if such confirmation were necessary, by the evidence of Dr. Best himself. But further, the condemnation of all the servants and officers, except Dr. Best, was not only the condemnation of Dr. Best, but the condemnation of the Institution; because, whatsoever was the conduct of the servants and officers of such a place, such exactly was the management. The conduct of these persons was declared to be eminently bad: by the same act the state of the house was declared to have been eminently bad, since the state of the house was created by their conduct. They were necessary causes and effects, and the one was the measure of the other. If the state of the house was good, the conduct of the managers within it could not be bad; if their conduct was bad, the state of the house must exactly correspond with it.

Dr. Best, however, requested to appear before the Committee of the House of Commons to give evidence in his own vindication. It appears, that he attempted to deny scarcely any of the facts which had been stated. What he chiefly endeavoured to do was to explain them, and show that no criminality attached to them. For example, he did not deny that the rooms which Mr. Higgins discovered were in the state which Mr. Higgins described. But he said they were in that state, only because the patients were more than usually crowded, by the loss of the wing of the building which had been destroyed by fire. He did not deny that William Vicars was carried home in the miserable condition described by Mr. Higgins. He only said, that he had suffered an apoplectic attack while in the house, had fallen into bad health, lost the command over the natural discharges, could with great difficulty be kept clean, and was removed when convalescence had just begun. He did not deny that the statement of deaths made by the apothecary in the newspapers was false; but he denied that he knew of their falsehood, and denied also that the apothecary had any interest in falsifying. He also did not deny that two sets of books were kept; and that the set which showed what

the patients really paid was burnt. He only denied that any fraud or concealment was meant, as he himself had explained the modes of payment to the Committee, who also saw both sets of books. As these are the few important facts which we have been able to mention, these are the only answers which we can afford to insert.

With respect to his plea, from the burning of the wing, this fact is stated, that an offer was made, by the persons who had the government of the Retreat, as well as of the Asylum at Nottingham, to accommodate, in that exigency, as many of the patients as possible; and that Dr. Best induced the Governors of the York Asylum to decline the offer in both instances. The reply which is made by the Doctor is, that the numbers which they could accommodate were so very small, that it would have made no considerable difference in the state of the Asylum to have sent them.

We regret the space which the statement of these particulars has required; but to ourselves they appear to be highly instructive, and we could not have made the case intelligible without them. Dr. Best, after these inquiries, resigned his office in the Institution, and assigned the badness of his health as the reason.

We proceed next to a subject which occupied so much of the attention of the Committee, that the evidence relating to it amounts to one-third of the minutes annexed to their Report—we mean the state of Bethlem Hospital. On this, however, we are compelled to be very short.

The first thing which strikes the inquirer with regard to this place is, the difficulties thrown in the way of inspection.

Mr. Wakefield was asked by the Committee,

“Had you any difficulty in obtaining an entrance into the hospital?—I originally went to Bethlem Hospital with a written order from a governor. Mr. Alavoine the then steward said, he was extremely sorry that he could not show me the hospital, as he could have done the week before; but that a resolution of twenty years standing had been received, to prevent any persons seeing that hospital but in company with a governor; and that in consequence of something which had been publicly said at a meeting, which had been held at the City of London Tavern. I asked Mr. Alavoine who were the governors; he said it was more than his place was worth to tell. He held in his hand a printed list of the governors; I requested permission to look at it; he said he could not allow me to do so; that Mr. Poynder, the secretary, who lived at Bride-well Hospital, would furnish me with a copy of the list of governors. In consequence of which I sent two persons on Friday the 22d of April, 1814, to the office of Mr. Poynder, clerk of Bethlem Hospital, who asked his clerk for a list of the governors of Bethlem Hospital; the clerk said, ‘I cannot give a list; Mr. Poynder is below stairs. On furnishing a list, the fee charged by Mr. Poynder must be paid.’ ‘What is the fee?’ ‘One guinea.’ Mr. Poynder now entered from below stairs, and finally refused to give the person I sent a list of the gover-

nors. He, however, forwarded me a list in the course of a few days." (Report, p. 13.)

Mr. Wakefield states, that the first time he endeavoured to see Bethlen, the Governor, on whom he had prevailed to accompany him, Mr. Alderman Cox, whose feelings were overpowered before they had seen one half of the house, being unable to attend him, he was not allowed to proceed, even while the Alderman remained in the steward's room. Introduced on a subsequent day by another governor,

"At this visit," says the witness, "attended by the steward of the hospital, and likewise by a female keeper, we first proceeded to visit the women's galleries: one of the side rooms contained about ten patients, each chained by one arm or leg to the wall; the chain allowing them merely to stand up by the bench or form fixed to the wall, or to sit down on it. The nakedness of each patient was covered by a blanket-gown only; the blanket-gown is a blanket formed something like a dressing-gown, with nothing to fasten it with in front; this constitutes the whole covering; the feet even were naked. One female in this side room, thus chained, was an object remarkably striking; she mentioned her maiden and married names, and stated that she had been a teacher of languages; the keepers described her as a very accomplished lady, mistress of many languages, and corroborated her account of herself. The Committee can hardly imagine a human being in a more degraded and brutalizing situation than that in which I found this female, who held a coherent conversation with us, and was of course fully sensible of the mental and bodily condition of those wretched beings, who, equally without clothing, were closely chained to the same wall with herself. Unaware of the necessities of nature, some of them, though they contained life, appeared totally inanimate and unconscious of existence. The few minutes which we passed with this lady did not permit us to form a judgment of the degree of restraint to which she ought to be subject; but I unhesitatingly affirm, that her confinement with patients in whom she was compelled to witness the most disgusting idiotcy, and the most terrifying distraction of the human intellect, was injudicious and improper. She intreated to be allowed pencil and paper, for the purpose of amusing herself with drawing, which were given to her by one of the gentlemen with me. Many of these unfortunate women were locked up in their cells, naked and chained on straw, with only one blanket for a covering." (Report, p. 11.)

"In the men's wing in the side room, six patients were chained close to the wall, five handcuffed, and one locked to the wall by the right arm as well as by the right leg; he was very noisy; all were naked, except as to the blanket gown or a small rug on his shoulders, and without shoes; one complained much of the coldness of his feet; one of us felt them, they were very cold. The patients in this room, except the noisy one, and the poor lad with cold feet, who was lucid when we saw him, were dreadful idiots; their nakedness and their mode of confinement gave this room the complete appearance of a dog-kennel. From

the patients not being classed, some appear objects of resentment to the others; we saw a quiet civil man, a soldier, a native of Poland, brutally attacked by another soldier, who, we were informed by the keepers, always singled out the Pole as an object of resentment: they said, there were no means of separating these men, except by locking one up in solitary confinement. Whilst looking at some of the bed-lying patients, a man arose naked from his bed, and had deliberately and quietly walked a few paces from his cell-door along the gallery; he was instantly seized by the keepers, thrown into his bed, and leg-locked, without inquiry or observation: chains are universally substituted for the strait-waistcoat. In the men's wing were about 75 or 76 patients, with two keepers and an assistant, and about the same number of patients on the women's side; the patients were in no way distinguished from each other as to disease, than as those who were not walking about or chained in the side-rooms, were lying stark naked upon straw on their bedsteads, each in a separate cell, with a single blanket or rug, in which the patient usually lay huddled up, as if impatient of cold, and generally chained to the bed-place in the shape of a trough; about one-fifth were in this state, or chained in the side-rooms. It appeared that the wet patients, and all who were inclined to lie a-bed, were allowed to do so, from being less troublesome in that state than when up and dressed. The end window towards Fore-street was the chief source of entertainment to the patients; they seemed greatly to enjoy the sight of the people walking, and to derive great pleasure from our visit." (Report, p. 11, 12.)

We come now to a case which seems, from the pains they have taken to throw light upon it, to have made a deep impression upon the members of the Committee. Mr. Wakefield is still the witness who speaks.

"In one of the cells on the lower gallery we saw William Norris; he stated himself to be 55 years of age, and that he had been confined about 14 years; that in consequence of attempting to defend himself from what he conceived the improper treatment of his keeper, he was fastened by a long chain, which passing through a partition, enabled the keeper, by going into the next cell, to draw him close to the wall at pleasure; that to prevent this, Norris muffled the chain with straw, so as to hinder it passing through the wall; that he afterwards was confined in the manner we saw him, namely, a stout iron ring was rivetted round his neck, from which a short chain passed to a ring made to slide upwards or downwards on an upright massive iron bar, more than six feet high, inserted into the wall. Round his body a strong iron bar about two inches wide was rivetted; on each side the bar was a circular projection, which being fashioned to and inclosing each of his arms, pinned them close to his sides. This waist bar was secured by two similar bars which, passing over his shoulders, were rivetted to the waist bar both before and behind. The iron ring round his neck was connected to the bars on his shoulders, by a double link. From each of these bars another short chain passed to the ring on the upright iron bar. We were informed he was enabled to raise himself, so as to stand against

the wall, on the pillow of his bed in the trough bed in which he lay ; but it is impossible for him to advance from the wall in which the iron bar is soldered, on account of the shortness of his chains, which were only twelve inches long. It was, I conceive, equally out of his power to repose in any other position than on his back, the projections which on each side of the waist bar inclosed his arms, rendering it impossible for him to lie on his side, even if the length of the chains from his neck and shoulders would permit it. His right leg was chained to the trough ; in which he had remained thus engaged and chained more than twelve years. To prove the unnecessary restraint inflicted on this unfortunate man, he informed us that he had for some years been able to withdraw his arms from the manacles which encompassed them. He then withdrew one of them, and observing an expression of surprise, he said, that when his arms were withdrawn, he was compelled to rest them on the edges of the circular projections, which was more painful than keeping them within. His position, we were informed, was mostly lying down, and that as it was inconvenient to raise himself and stand upright, he very seldom did so ; that he read a great deal of books of all kinds, history, lives, or any thing that the keepers could get him ; the newspaper every day, and conversed perfectly coherent on the passing topics and the events of the war, in which he felt particular interest. On each day that we saw him he discoursed coolly, and gave rational and deliberate answers to the different questions put to him. The whole of this statement relative to William Norris was confirmed by the keepers." (Report, p. 12.)

Dr. Monro, the physician, and Mr. Haslam, the apothecary of the hospital, were, on this case, very severely cross-examined by the Committee, and most conspicuously treated as persons, particularly Haslam, from, whom it was necessary to *extort* the truth. Haslam endeavoured to screen himself, by stating that he had at first proposed a different mode of confinement, while the Governors had preferred that of which the Committee had heard the description. He was asked if he had ever remonstrated against it, or so much as expressed any disapprobation of it. He confessed that he never had. Dr. Monro was asked the same questions, and constrained to answer to the same effect.

They next endeavoured to obviate the conclusions which they but too plainly saw were likely to be drawn against them, by stating it as their conviction, that no better mode of confining this patient could be devised : the reasons were, that he was peculiarly ferocious and powerful ; and that his wrists and hands were so constructed, that he could extricate himself from handcuffs. The Committee thought it necessary to do more than to leave this affirmation to be contradicted by the reasoning faculties of every man who heard it. They put questions for the purpose of publicly exhibiting the opinions of the most experienced of the men who came before them.

Mr. Thomas Bakewell was asked, "Have you ever had in your custody maniacs of a very outrageous description, who were supposed to be extremely dangerous to their keeper, and even to themselves?" The answer he returned was this: "I never considered any as dangerous to myself, I have had many very violent. I consider coercion as necessary for the sake only of the patient himself, and should use it while he was in a violent state; but I should despise the keeper who feared them himself." He adds, what is worthy of particular attention, "but these paroxysms never continue."—"Do you apprehend that the mode of confinement you have already described was sufficient for the most outrageous maniac you ever saw? Certainly; the strait waistcoat is alone sufficient, making their feet secure, so that they cannot kick. The strait waistcoat is the best thing possible."

Mr. Thomas Dunstan, the master of St. Luke's, was asked, "Do you know any thing of the management of Bethlem Hospital?—I went to see a man who was confined there, and thought it was very improperly done; his name, I think, was Norris. Have you had many instances of persons quite, or nearly as outrageous as that man?—Yes; a great many in my time. Did you ever think it necessary to confine any one of them, in a manner at all resembling that in which Norris was confined?—I never did. Agreeably to the experience you have now had of forty years, can you conceive, in any case, it could be necessary to keep a man chained down to his bed for nine years together?—No; nor nine weeks."

Mr. Warburton, who keeps private houses to a greater extent than any other man in the kingdom, being asked to what, in the case of a very violent patient, whose hands slipped out of handcuffs, he would have recourse, answered, "To a very stout strait waistcoat. I never saw a man so bad yet, that could not be held by a strait waistcoat. We must make it proportionately strong. The most violent pauper lunatic never required confinement beyond a leg-lock and manacles; and I never yet saw a lunatic that at certain times, under the guidance of a keeper, might not be allowed some liberty to walk about."

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Dr. Monro hazarded a most extraordinary opinion; that the exquisite cruelty to which this man was doomed, he had not feeling to suffer from; an opinion which it is only necessary to adopt to lay a foundation for unrelenting inhumanity. "Is it probable that the greater want of comfort produced additional irritation? No: I am not aware that it did. He seemed to me to be a most insensible man; little better than a brute; he had not the least feeling whatever. I do not recollect that I ever heard him complain of the fetters that he was confined by. He was perfectly lost to all sensibility whatever.—Do you mean all sense as well as sensibility? I mean, all feeling.—All corporeal feeling, or feeling of mind, too? Feeling of mind too. He appeared to me to have lost his mental feeling entirely." Yet, in answer to other questions, the sensibility of this same man is affirmed to be so exquisite, that a look which he disapproves of is sufficient to throw him into a paroxysm of rage. Haslam affirms that he *disdained* to complain; and such was his high-mindedness, such his firmness of purpose, that he held to his resolution through nine years of unrelenting torture! The *excess* of sensibility was by this very sagacious, or very honest doctor, sincerely or insincerely, represented as a total want of all feeling, bodily and mental!—A man "lost to all sensibility whatever;" who (it stands in evidence) had a passion for reading; and, chained to his couch, felt a deep interest in the political events of his age! Who conversed rationally with gentlemen of the Committee, and told them he should be sorry to be trusted altogether without restraint; because he thought a sudden provocation might still excite him to mischief!

Other particulars, indicative of most objectionable management in this great Institution, we are constrained reluctantly to omit. Among the fruits of the inquiry which has begun to take place, we have to announce a great change in the mode of punishing Norris; the dismissal of the matron and steward, ^{persons} a confessed improvement in the condition of the house, ^{persons} a vast reduction of the number of patients in the state of suffering, since the appointment of their successors.

It is highly necessary to remark, that no system of inspection has existed for this great establishment. It is in evidence that the governors hardly ever took cognizance of any beyond a few particulars. The management, which was immediately in the hands of the matron and steward, was entrusted almost entirely to the controul and superintendence of the medical officers. And gentlemen of that description, as far as a conclusion is to be drawn from the two cases of the York Asylum and Bethlem Hospital, appear, where either their ease or their emolument is concerned, to constitute a very imperfect security.

hand for legislative regulation. As it is more than manifest that legislators can never have too much knowledge upon any subject on which they undertake to legislate, and seldom indeed have enough, it is equally manifest that their minds should lie completely open to the reception of knowledge; that they should be incessantly and eagerly on the search for it; and that they can seldom look to any source so prolific in assistance as the press.

With an attention exerted, as that of British legislators now is, to the state of the provisions for the treatment of the insane, there is evidently no occasion to stimulate them to new legislative exertions. Perhaps it is more necessary to caution them against legislating too much. It is well known that this is an error into which legislatures have great temptation to run: it is also well known that it is an error of a very mischievous nature, from which many of the worst effects of legislation daily proceed: and it is an error, from the danger of which we are not able to regard the British legislature, on the present occasion, as altogether exempt. We deem it highly expedient to enter a caveat against it.

The class of persons for whose care a proper system of provisions is now required, is the class of those whose minds are in such a state that they are not fit to be entrusted with their own actions; and who, therefore, require to be placed under a guard. The mental infirmity may be such as to produce actions hurtful to themselves, or hurtful to others.

The objects, it is evident, at which, in such a case, legislative regulation should aim, are *three*: In the first place, that all those persons, who require this species of guard, should be placed under it: In the second place, that none but those who require it should be placed under it: In the third place, that all those who are placed under it, should be placed in circumstances as favourable to their well-being and recovery as possible. We shall offer a few remarks under each of these heads.

1. Provision ought to be made, that all those persons, the state of whose minds is such that they are unfit to be trusted with their own actions, should, without any exception, be placed under the proper restraint. This is the more necessary to be strongly recommended, as it has, hitherto, been almost entirely overlooked, while, in point of importance, it would be difficult to place it too high. Let us endeavour to conceive what would happen if insane persons were left to wander without controul; We shall then have a conception of the evil in its totality. Would not society be rendered almost insupportable? That portion of the insane whose disease produces actions hurtful to others, would place every man under the dread of assassination, into whose presence any of them were liable to come; and

men would be compelled to destroy them like other dangerous animals, or be destroyed by their means.

With regard to the other class of the insane, whose infirmity produces actions hurtful to themselves, it is enough to say, that no state of suffering in which they can be placed by others, can surpass that in which the greater part of them would place themselves. A large proportion of them, indeed, would place themselves beyond the reach of suffering by a voluntary death. It is, therefore, abundantly certain, that both the well-being of society at large, and the well-being of the unhappy subjects of the disease, require that none of them should be left at liberty; and in no country in which the legislation is universally good, will an effectual provision for this purpose be wanting.

In the present state of this country, there is no great danger that madmen, known to be dangerous, should be left in possession of their liberty. The fear which is felt for themselves by men who can put in execution the powers of restraint, insures the application of them. There are two cases which chiefly require to be looked after. The first is that of indigent persons, not dangerous to others, of whom nobody takes charge. Of these it ought to be rendered imperative on their relations, when in adequate circumstances, or on parishes, when they are not, to take the proper care. The next case is that of incipient madness, for which we are aware that an adequate provision is not easy to be made. It will be something to have called to it the attention of the legislature, and to have produced a deeper sense of its importance than hitherto men in general appear to have possessed. If attention were paid to the number of murders perpetrated by the insane, upon themselves, their relatives, and others, either before they have been conceived to be insane, or before the disease has been conceived to be so violent as to require constraint, they would be found to surpass, in every year, the number of those who suffer a violent death in this country, by all other means taken together. The mass of mischief which is annually incurred by inattention to the beginnings of madness, and by leaving those on whom mental disease is encroaching, too long exempt from controul, is perhaps the greatest to which the calamity of madness, in the present state of its management in this country, really and truly gives birth. An act of parliament therefore ought, at the very least, to afford every encouragement for the application of restraint to persons in the very earliest stages of madness. Even mistakes, in this case, where no bad intention is rendered sufficiently probable, ought, in all cases, to be venial. The danger to personal liberty which may thence be apprehended, would, under a proper system of inspec-

tion, be so very small, that it is altogether unworthy of comparison with the evil which it would prevent. A proper system of inspection would effectually cut off all the motives which any individual could have for the wrongful confinement of another; and it scarcely can be conceived that an attempt, from which nothing could be expected but detection, disgrace, and punishment, would ever be made. At the same time the decision ought not to be left entirely to relatives; whom frequently a false tenderness, and more frequently a false shame, induce to disguise the appearances of the disease, and bear with the patient, till the mischief is produced. A proper tribunal ought to be created, to which, in the case of any individual, it should be competent for any body to make application. As soon as the existence of disease is rendered probable, temporary restraint should be employed; because, if necessary, it need not be long: and the inconvenience to the individual is nothing, compared with the danger from which he himself, or others, are saved. How this tribunal is to be formed, it is for the practical wisdom of the legislature to decide.

2. Provision ought to be made sufficient to prevent the confinement of persons, as insane, for whom no such confinement is required. To this case the whole force in this country of legislative exertion, hitherto bestowed on the subject, has almost exclusively been applied. We are a people to whom it has become habitual to make the application of restraint to the individual a matter of prodigious importance; and our usual language, and usual feelings, confound two cases which are remarkably distinct.

The confinement of individuals, at the discretion of the high officers wielding the powers of government, it is impossible to regard as of too much importance; because the friends and defenders of good government, and its securities, might be the men on whom such confinement would fall; and the loss of every security for good government might be the result.

But there is another species of restraint which mere individuals may be tempted to produce, for some private advantage to themselves. Against this injury, all reasonable securities should be taken. But provided the impossibility is created, which it easily may, of continuing this injury without detection and punishment for any considerable length of time, a greater evil ought not to be incurred for the sake of avoiding another which can in no sense be regarded as considerable.

Although it was upon this point that the whole stress of the act of the 14th of the King was made to bear, the security which it provides is exceedingly imperfect. It required that no patient of a certain class should be received into a madhouse without an attestation of madness signed by a medical man. But the signa-

ture of the most ignorant apothecary is sufficient: and what is still more remarkable,—for the unhappy race of paupers no certificate is required. The officers of any parish may lodge in a madhouse whomsoever they please. A house containing one patient needs no licence, and receives no visitation. Is anybody at a loss to see that, under these circumstances, a man who has money to pay for dishonourable services, can never find it very arduous to overcome the barriers intended to prevent the confinement of improper persons in a madhouse? Under the present mode of inspection, too, even where it is most efficiently performed about London, the inspecting commissioners themselves confess, that persons might be retained in the houses of confinement, and perfectly concealed from their view; while in the country, so imperfectly are the securities taken for official inspection, that it is hardly performed at all. Yet under all these facilities, instances of undue confinement are exceedingly rare; probably not so much as one occurs in the whole kingdom during a number of years. The reason is, that, in this country, the eye of the public is penetrating; and the voice of the public has an organ by which it can make itself be heard. In the private houses, moreover, where the reputation of the house is the fortune of the master, it would not be easy to give a bribe which would compensate the risk of detection. No; if any man meditated such an enormity, the public institutions are the places for him; where the leading people are so little under controul, and risk so little by violating their duties.

For ourselves, we do not see that provisions of great strictness about the admission of patients can be formed, without incurring the danger of excluding incipient madness, from which at present so great a mass of evil proceeds. Nor do we see that provisions of great strictness relative to admission are at all required. The skill of the legislature should be exerted to render it impossible that undue confinement can ever be long; and if this be accomplished, a remedy for undue admission is also obtained. What is a security against the one, is an equal security against the other. Both objects may thus be gained, and gained in the best manner, by only one set of provisions. Two effects may be produced by a single cause. This is legislative ingenuity of the highest sort. A proper system of inspection—an inspection which no abuses can escape, will, it is manifest, be competent alone to the production of these effects. And without such inspection, no security which can be provided will be found adequate to the end. Inspection, therefore, an efficient machinery of inspection, is that to the formation of which the genius of the members of parliament should be strenuously bent. In this one instrument, under a few simple rules, they will find the remedy for all abuses.

3. Provision ought to be made, that all those persons who are

placed in confinement, 'under the character of insane, shall be placed in circumstances as favourable as possible to their well-being, including present comfort, and future recovery.

It will not require any illustration to prove, that the chief instrument which the legislature can employ to ensure a proper treatment to patients under confinement, is that of inspection. In this case, inspection is almost the only security lying within the sphere of legislative choice. Now what is meant by inspection, in the character of a security, is a provision created by the legislature for making fully known the treatment received by every human being in the nation under confinement as insane; and rendering concealment or deception altogether impossible. Revelation, however, if made to those alone who will disregard it, and give themselves but little concern about the abuses which may exist, will be made to little purpose. It is necessary to find some class of persons in whom such inattention can have no chance of existing! We know one such class, and only one; that is, the public itself, in its great corporate capacity. If means are taken to make the public acquainted with the circumstances of every individual who is improperly treated in a madhouse, there will be no improper treatment. If this is left undone, we cannot conceive any other security, in spite of which abuses will not find a way to creep in.

The grand objection to publicity, in the case of madhouses,—to an efficient, curative degree of publicity,—is the feelings of the relatives of the patients; because they have in general a violent desire to conceal from the public the existence in the family of such a disease. But it surely does deserve consideration, how far these feelings should be allowed to stand in opposition to the well-being of those very relatives who are confined; how far a purpose of deception with regard to the public, and a purpose of cruelty with regard to the relatives, should be allowed to prevail over the claim, which humanity urges for those arrangements which alone are adequate to ensure the proper treatment of the insane.

It would require a far greater space than we can now afford, to explain sufficiently our own ideas with regard to the inspection of madhouses. One thing we may state very shortly, and with some chance of its carrying its own conviction along with it;—that the more of publicity the legislature can infuse into the system of inspection, the greater the security against all abuses will they be sure to create.

In the existing act of parliament, the College of Physicians is looked up to as the only proper instrument of inspection, at least for the principal part of the business, that about the metropolis. A similar arrangement was made in the bill of the session pre-

ceding the last, to which, dictated in a great measure by the College of Physicians, we have found an allusion in the present Report. From this error we perceive indications, that the present meritorious Committee are pretty effectually weaned; we have, therefore, but little apprehension that it will disgrace a new act of parliament.

There are strong reasons against trusting this inspection to any confined body, with an *esprit du corps*; but stronger reasons against the College of Physicians than almost any other that can be named. The physicians are of all men those of whom the interests, in this case, are most likely to stand in opposition to their duty. The quantity of medical practice which is required in madhouses, and the quantity of medical fees which is extracted out of them, are both very great. The favour of the keepers of these houses is to a physician, therefore, a matter of great importance; and an understanding between them and the visiting physicians is a natural result.

Besides, the constitution of the College of Physicians forms another decisive objection. It excludes all the physicians bred at the most celebrated medical school in the world,—the University of Edinburgh; and a very large proportion of the most eminent of the medical practitioners in London.

The error of resorting to physicians for the inspection of madhouses seems to have arisen from the belief, that it was by medicine that the mental disease was to be cured. Experience seems to have ascertained that medicine, unless as in the case of other individuals, for their bodily complaints, is almost or altogether unavailing with regard to the insane; and that the physician, as such, has no peculiar qualification for judging of the management of a madhouse.

Against another error, into which, under the direction of the College of Physicians, the framers of the bill to which we have twice alluded were drawn, that of exempting from inspection the *public* madhouses, the legislature are now, by the evidence this Committee has laid before them, pretty effectually secured. So far from not standing in need of inspection, of all the places for the reception of the insane, the public establishments are those which stand in need of it the most.

Besides the misconduct of those who have the management of houses for the reception of the insane, there are other causes of the undue suffering borne by this helpless portion of the race, for which the legislature should perform all that is possible towards providing a remedy.

• In the first place, there is a considerable proportion of persons bereft of their reason, who are not placed in any situation which is fit for them. Some are allowed to wander about, at their own

discretion. In Ireland this is the case with almost all, excepting the very dangerous, and the rich. Others are confined in parish work-houses; and some in gaols. The sufferings of all these classes are in general extreme. And in many cases the annoyance is immense which they create to other people. It is undoubtedly of the last importance, that no insane person should either be abandoned to his own wayward inclinations, or be confined in such exceptionable places as a workhouse or a prison.

Something has recently been done by the legislature to compel parishes, where a county asylum for the insane exists, to send thither their deranged paupers. If a law were made to compel parishes to send to some licensed madhouse the whole of their pauper insane, it would accelerate prodigiously the building of county asylums. In one respect public establishments of this description would be desirable. The buildings might be skilfully adapted to the purpose for which they are designed: whereas the houses which have been hitherto employed by the owners of private establishments, have been built for other purposes, and are never well adapted to the confinement of the insane. What constitutes the excellence of a building for this purpose is the facilities which it affords to inspection. We are extremely happy to perceive that the Committee have annexed to their Report the plan of a building for the confinement of the insane, upon the panopticon principle – a building so contrived, that from a central spot every part of it is visible, and, as often as necessary, every inmate whom it contains. Upon the virtues of this admirable contrivance we have at present no opportunity to dilate. It is sufficiently evident what powers it yields to the stated master or superintendent, to check every instance of malversation on the part of servants; and what powers it affords to inspectors of all descriptions to detect abuses on the part of those to whom the government of the house belongs. Without such a contrivance as this, no vigilance on the part of the governing individuals can prevent innumerable instances of negligence, and other kinds of misconduct, in their subservient agents.

Mr. Samuel Tuke, in his Pamphlet entitled “*Practical Hints,*” &c. disapproves, we see, of the panopticon principle. We are not much surprised at this; for though he has well described the Retreat at York, and done a great service by holding up the principle of mildness and beneficence, as the grand principle of management in the cure of the insane; he is evidently not a man of great force, or great reach of mind. Besides, he has a plan of his own; and it is difficult for men of stronger minds than Mr. Tuke to like a better plan, when it would supersede another by which their fancy is already engrossed.

His reason, however, for disapproving the panopticon principle in the construction of madhouses is curious. It would not be agreeable to the servants to be always seen. To bad servants assuredly it would not; and for that very reason it ought to be so much the more agreeable to those to whom the feelings of the patients are a matter of regard. To really good servants the being seen is not a punishment, but a reward; because they are then assured that their merits are not concealed, and that they shall receive the applause which they deserve. Besides, it would be easy to afford to the servants in a panopticon madhouse any degree whatsoever of privacy, which their comfort might seem to require; at the same time that the master would enjoy the inestimable advantage of placing them all under his inspection, as often as he chose.

Whenever the houses of private owners are built upon the best principle, there is in them a security for good management, a security which never can be obtained in public establishments,—the power of competition, on which too great a value can hardly ever be set.

There is another important cause of undue suffering to the insane, a cause of which the inquiries of the Committee have set abundant evidence before them; we mean, the absence of sufficient pay to afford the accommodations which well-being requires. We have seen that in the houses of private owners at least, this is almost the only cause of undue suffering; for it is attested by the visiting commissioners, that more is done by them for their money than the commissioners can easily see how it is possible to do. Such are the beneficial effects of competition! This, however, is a cause of suffering, which extends to the most numerous portion by far of this pitiable class of our fellow creatures. It deserves the most serious consideration of the legislature. Whether they will deem it expedient to compel parishes both to send their insane paupers to a madhouse, and to afford with them a sufficient compensation for comfortable accommodations, we much doubt. But there is one thing which, at any rate, they may easily do; and which we conjure them, by every thing dear to the human mind, to do; and that is, if they perform nothing to better the condition of these sufferers, to do nothing to make it worse. They are already deprived of accommodations necessary to well-being, for want of money sufficient to pay for them. Do not, then, tax these unhappy beings; tearing from them a fresh portion of their inadequate accommodations! It is absurd to regard a tax upon a madhouse as a tax upon the master. Think of an act of parliament to tax madness!—and pauper madness, maintained by charity!—a tax upon pauperism!—a tax upon charity! And yet

not only does the existing act impose taxes upon madhouses (and one of the principal objects of the visiting physicians is to act as surveyors for the levying of this tax, which forms a fund chiefly at their disposal), but, under their direction, according to the bill to which we have already so often alluded, brought into parliament in the session which preceded the last, a still more oppressive tax was about to be imposed. It is, therefore, of urgent importance to warn the legislature against this egregious solecism in legislation.

It has been ascertained by the evidence before the Committee, that an evil exists of great magnitude in the vices of relatives, who, from avarice and other motives, without the excuse of poverty, withhold from the insane the accommodations which they require. It is not easy to discover any unobjectionable remedy to this evil, except one, and that is, the sanative power of *publicity*. Let in light upon the circumstances of madhouses. Render it impossible for relatives to prevent such misconduct from being made known to the world; and you may rest assured that it will very rarely take place. Competition and publicity; these are the grand rectifying principles throughout the business of society. Where these are enabled to act with unimpeded force, the course of human affairs is easily kept in the best possible order.

There are two other things which, though not exactly in their place, we cannot forbear even yet to mention.

The first is, that all servants and other officers in houses of every description for the insane, should be effectually interdicted from taking fees, or other gratuities, in any shape, on account of the patients. The servants should be paid by their masters, and have no other pay. The mischief which is occasioned by fees paid to the instruments of confinement in this country, in gaols and other places, is prodigious. The legislature, at the instance of a member of the madhouse committee, has at last opened its eyes to the enormity of gaol fees, and has taken a large stride towards their abolition. We hope it will perceive the same necessity for abolishing what partakes so much of the nature of gaol fees, gratuities to the servants in madhouses. If a keeper hopes to be paid for good behaviour to a patient, it is a premium for bad behaviour till the payment is extorted. It is an infallible cause of neglect and cruelty to those who are already the greatest sufferers, those who have nothing to pay. Besides, the habit of taking fees has a bad effect upon the general character: it produces a greedy, grasping, unsatisfied, mercenary, selfish, unfeeling disposition.

The next of the two things which we have still a desire to point out for attention, is the source of evil which is necessarily opened

in permitting any of the leading officers of the great charitable institutions for the insane, to set up private madhouses of their own, or to become sharers in the emoluments of the madhouses of any other person. A temptation is thus created to convert the public madhouse into a recruiting house for the private one. Who sees not to what abuses this paves the way? The doctors Monro and Sutherland, the two physicians of Bethlem and St. Luke's, in the metropolis, have each of them private madhouses of their own; and Mr. Dunstan, the master of St. Luke's, has a connection with Mr. Warburton, the greatest owner of private madhouses in the kingdom. All this does require legislative interference.

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